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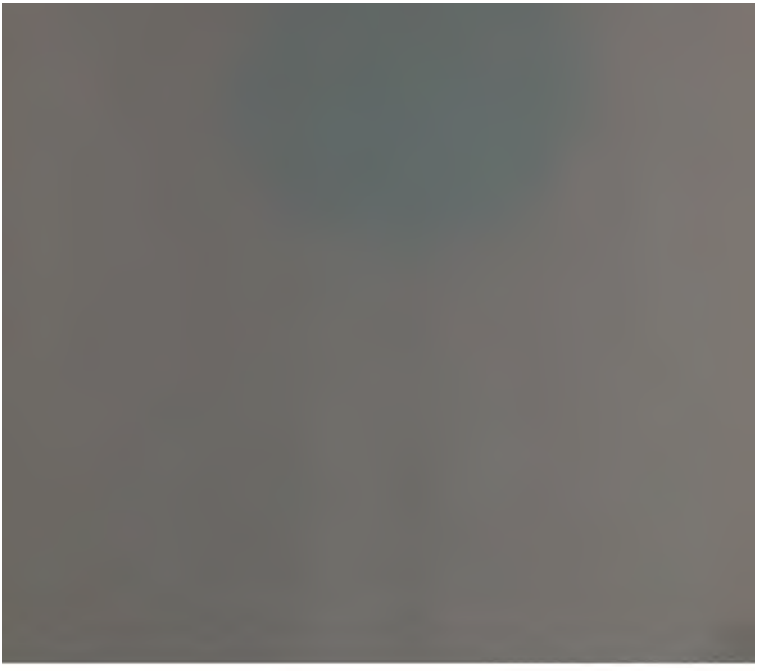

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HON. CHARLES DENBY, LL. D.

CHINA
and
Her People

Being the Observations, Reminiscences, and Conclusions of an American Diplomat

By

THE HON. CHARLES DENBY, LL. D.

Thirteen Years United States Minister to China

In Two Volumes

VOLUME I.

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Preface

THE career of the late Col. Charles Denby in the Far East covered one of the most interesting and important eras in the history of civilization in that region of the world. That a man known not at all to the country as a whole and with no other distinction than that of the commander of an Indiana regiment in the Civil War should, without previous diplomatic training, be able so to conduct his office as United States Minister to China that he was continued there through three administrations and part of a fourth, at a time when politics was at its bitterest, is one of the most remarkable facts in our diplomatic history. It is plain that this man who was so honoured was a very able and valuable public servant and that his ministry won renown and honour to America and Americans. Thirteen successive

years in one diplomatic position of very high rank is almost, if not quite, the record in this country. That there should be a demand for the publication of the memoirs of such a career was inevitable, and it was in response to that demand that Colonel Denby wrote this book, which it has been my privilege to arrange for the publisher.

Such a book should be interesting and valuable. This, I am confident the reader will find, is both. The style of the author is most delightful, and in the purely memoir part he leads the reader into an understanding and an appreciation of the court life at Peking, and one cannot help feeling with him deep regret that the community of diplomats there is no more. His statement of the inner life and spirit and aspirations of the Chinese people will be found most sympathetic and accurate. It is a pleasing and favourable view that the author takes of the Chinese people, and we ought to be thankful that their case is stated so well.

While the first part of the book is taken up with the social life of China and the Chinese, the latter deals with its political phases.

Therein the reader will find one of the clearest statements extant of the underlying causes of the Russo-Japanese war. On reading this part of the book one comes to believe that the author, with all his graciousness and tact, saw deeply and keenly down into the heart of the Eastern question. It must have been a rare and abiding pleasure to him in his last days to know that the position for an "Open Door" in China, for which he stood so boldly and bravely from the start, had, under John Hay's direction, become the policy of the United States and the world. Such a record is a fine heritage to his children.

It is impossible to mention even the chapters of greatest interest. One of these, however, certainly is that dealing with the peace negotiations closing the Chino-Japanese war. In these Colonel Denby was the mediator, and it was due to his skill in conducting the preliminaries that peace was at last arranged. The chapter on the missionaries, for whom Colonel Denby takes a strong stand, and those on the Boxer rebellion and our exclusion of the Chinese labourer will also be especially interesting and illuminating.

It has been thought best that the editor ad a very brief sketch and chronology of th recent war in the Far East. That chapter while undoubtedly full of faults, may serv to round out this important work.

F. B. T.

inhabitants, which, from its position on the Ohio River, at the terminus of the Wabash and Erie Canal, seemed destined to a great development. At Evansville, Colonel Denby devoted himself to the study of law and to newspaper work. He represented his county in the Legislature of Indiana, during the session of 1856-57. While in the Legislature Mr. Denby became acquainted with Miss Martha Fitch, daughter of United States Senator Fitch, of Indiana, and they were afterward married. This union was an ideally happy one, and was only broken by his death.

On the day Fort Sumter was attacked, Mr. Denby realized that a bitter war was upon the nation. Against his Virginia birth and training lay his devotion to his country. Without hesitation his course was chosen, and, closing his office, he at once proceeded to organize a company for home service under the stars and stripes. Under his able command these troops became proficient in military tactics, and finally, on the call for troops in July, 1861, entered active service in the Forty-second Regiment, Indiana Volunteers. Mr. Denby was appointed lieutenant-colonel of this regiment,

and served with it until October 10, 1862, when he was appointed colonel of the Eightieth Regiment, Indiana Volunteers. He was several times engaged in battle and was twice struck, though only slightly wounded. In February, 1863, he was compelled to resign, on surgeon's certificate, and returned to the practice of the law at Evansville.

Colonel Denby was always identified with the Democratic party, and was always an active participant in its campaigns. While never a candidate for political office, he was deep in the councils of the party, and was repeatedly delegate at large from Indiana to the Democratic National Conventions.

On the election of President Cleveland, Colonel Denby was put forward by his friends as a candidate for a post in the diplomatic service, and on May 29, 1885, was appointed Minister to China. His peculiar aptitude for the profession of diplomacy, his intense application to the duties of his post, his deep reading and habits of careful observation, as well as the lofty integrity which inspired his whole career, soon showed him to be an invaluable servant of his country in that position. Rarely

has an American minister in any capital obtained so universally the approval of his own superiors, his countrymen resident in the country to which he was accredited, and at the same time of the authorities of that country. Colonel Denby's stay in China, covering three administrations and part of the fourth, was marked by the unbroken confidence of the Chinese authorities. To him, more than to any other foreign representative, they turned in their problems and difficulties, and by his advice they were largely guided in their relations with other powers. This exalted regard he merited by the strict integrity and the disinterestedness of his attitude. At all times attentive solely to the interests of his government and his fellow citizens, he never for one instant availed himself of his influence to secure any personal advantage for himself. He was in China at a time when international politics was in a disturbed condition, when mighty governmental forces were at work in the advancement of grants and concessions, when immense sums were spent in the promotion of railway and mining schemes, and when influence or "pull" with the Chinese

government was a marketable commodity. During this episode of China's recent history, Colonel Denby pursued unsullied his lofty course, America's name thus coming untarnished out of a period which left its stain on the reputation of several nations.

In no feature of his term of office as minister was Colonel Denby met with more conspicuous success nor warmer appreciation than in his relations with the American missionaries. He early realized what a large part of America's interest in China the missionary interest constituted. One of his earliest duties was to inform himself concerning their work, their personal character, their standing in the communities in which they laboured. To this duty he, with characteristic zeal, devoted attentive efforts. He travelled much about the Empire, visiting and inspecting schools, colleges, hospitals, and chapels. Wherever possible he made personal friends amongst the missionaries, and, hearing at first hand their reports of their success, the stories of their grievances, and being enabled by his official relations with the authorities, high and low, of the Empire to familiarize himself with both

sides of all controversies, he was placed in a position to form an opinion of missions and their agents which no man could dispute.

Colonel Denby served as Minister to China during Mr. Cleveland's first administration, Mr. Harrison's, and Mr. Cleveland's second administration, as well as for a year or more under President McKinley. President McKinley accepted his resignation, as he told a personal friend, because of the demand for the post in his own party, not for any reason that reflected on Colonel Denby.

Immediately upon his arrival in this country in September, 1898, Colonel Denby was appointed a member of the commission to inquire into the conduct of the war with Spain. Even before the adjournment of that commission he was made a member of the first commission to the Philippines, together with Admiral Dewey, General Otis, President Schurman, of Cornell University, and Professor Worcester, of Michigan University. To this work he brought the valuable aid of his wide knowledge and experience of the East, which were keenly appreciated by his colleagues on

the commission and by the administration itself.

After retirement from official life, Colonel Denby settled down at his old home at Evansville, Indiana, and devoted himself to literary labours, study, and the pleasures of home life. He was always very happy in his domestic relations, and enjoyed throughout life the devotion of a wide circle of friends. Physically he was a specimen of perfect manhood. He drew to himself all who knew him by a noble bearing and generous nature. His physical proportions and handsome face made him a marked man in any community. He died suddenly, at the age of seventy-four years, at Jamestown, New York, to which city he had gone to deliver a lecture.

THE EDITOR.

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China and Her People

CHAPTER I.

APPOINTED MINISTER TO CHINA

THE writer was appointed Minister to China by President Cleveland May 29, 1885. I remained in China during Mr. Cleveland's first administration, was left there by President Harrison during his term, by Mr. Cleveland through his second term, and by President McKinley until August, 1898, — about seventeen months of his term. In that month Hon. Edwin H. Conger succeeded me, and I returned to the United States. My service as minister thus extended over thirteen years, and my residence in the country covered nearly the same period. And in that time I

was able to obtain an insight into the heart of Chinese character and life.

China furnishes an exceedingly interesting topic of comment and discussion to Americans. We are interested in China because of our trade relations with it; because we are now an Asiatic power; and because many of our people, either as merchants or missionaries, are residents in its borders. Over the whole subject, also, is thrown the glamour of the unknown, romantic Orient, — a land of vast agglomerations of peoples with strange languages, habits, and customs, and a civilization dating back thousands of years before our own country was discovered. In addition to these considerations, an international question of importance has raised its threatening head. We have become, and are to-day, the partisans of the principle that the autonomy of China should be preserved. We are not only fighting for a market, which promises to be valuable to us, but we regard with dread the idea that the European powers should, by the partition of the territory of China, confront our possessions in the Far East with armed camps on the shores of the China Sea, or the banks

of the Yangtse. The partition of the Empire is a subject which the public press, the platform orator, and the State Department have ever before them. Behind us we have a splendid history of beneficent treatment of the "Far East," and whether it should be continued on pacific lines only is an unsolved problem. Judging by the past, we may well have faith in our diplomacy in lieu of reliance on our artillery. Our fame in the "Far East" rests chiefly upon the fact that our treatment of the various races who people it, has been in accordance with the "Golden Rule." Of all the nations in the world, we alone have provided by a solemn treaty, and by a law enacted in compliance therewith, that its citizens should not handle, or deal in opium in China. The baneful drug cannot be carried to that country in American bottoms, or put on the market by American merchants. Also by the most recent treaty made with China, — in October, 1903, — we agreed that morphia and the instruments intended for its use should be excluded from China.

We opened up Japan. Commodore Matthew Galbraith Perry made with Japan the first

treaty she ever made with a European or American power. This treaty was signed March 31, 1854. Afterward, in 1883, we gave back voluntarily to Japan our proportion of three millions of dollars, which had been paid by her to the four powers, the Dutch, British, French, and American, as an indemnity for injuries done to the foreign ships by the Daimio's forts at Shimonoseki. We are the only power that made any restitution of this money. In 1885 we voluntarily paid back to China the sum of $453,400, the balance of unused money on hand from a sum paid to us in 1858 as damages, which by our contract we might honourably have retained.

Until 1832 the great East India Company had the monopoly of British trade with China. Its charter was repealed by the British Parliament during that year. By this act the momentous question was decided that the representative of Great Britain in China should be an ambassador, and not a supercargo. This company strenuously opposed all efforts at proselytism by Christian missionaries. It did not teach or instruct the Chinese in anything but commerce. It ignored Bibles and tracts.

It was organized for the one purpose of making money, and it strictly conformed its operations to that purpose. The repeal of its charter left an open field for commerce. Our own trade relations with China began in 1784, when, on the 30th day of August of that year, the *Empress of China* — the first American ship that ever visited Canton — dropped anchor at that port. She was commanded by Captain John Green, and her supercargo, Samuel Shaw, became the first American consul to China. Our first treaty with China was made by Caleb Cushing, acting as United States Commissioner, July 3, 1844. From that day to the present time our trade has continually increased, until in 1901 it amounted to $31,000,000, almost exactly one-tenth of the foreign trade of the Empire. In 1902 it amounted to $34,699,784. In that year the total imports into China amounted to 315,363,905 Haikwan taels, and the exports to 214,181,584 Hk taels, the total being Hk taels 529,545,489. The Hk tael is at this writing valued at sixty-three gold cents. In our money the total trade of China in 1902 amounted to $333,614,658, so that our trade amounted to

more than one million of dollars over one-tenth of the whole trade, and increased $3,699,784 over 1901.

No nation nor class can claim for itself the exclusive credit of opening up China to foreign intercourse. The diplomatists, the consuls, the merchants, the mariners, the soldiers, and the missionaries of many nations are all entitled to some share of this honour. Each doing its part, those classes of men have beaten down the barriers which impeded foreign intercourse, and have produced such conditions that now the peoples of the " Far East " are fast assimilating Western civilization. The steamship, the railroad, the telegraph, and telephone are no longer curiosities in China, Japan, Siam, or Korea. To this instruction, and this labour of enlightenment, almost every Western country has contributed some of its best and bravest citizens. I am glad, and proud, to say that nowhere in the world will be found more intelligent, accomplished, progressive communities than in the foreign concessions and settlements in the " Far East." You will find in China beautiful little cities built and occupied by foreigners, possessing all the attractions of

Western cities. You will find keen, active, aggressive business men, whose operations cover a great share of the financial dealings of the world. In these little concessions the social life will delight and charm you by the kindness, the courtesy, and the boundless hospitality practised by their charming people. If you ever lived in our own South "before the war," or visited it, you will recognize some similarity between the manners and customs of the people of that country and those of the foreign residents in the "Far East." You will notice the abundance of servants, and of horses, or other means of locomotion, and of everything which can contribute to your comfort. You will be surrounded with the same air of unobtrusive and tireless hospitality which characterized the "Dixie" of the past, and for aught that I know to the contrary may still characterize it. In this book I am to write of the splendid progress that the foreigner has wrought out amid many tribulations in the Orient. If you read its pages, you will respect your race more than ever, because you will contemplate it engaged in building up among peoples, whose complex-

ions are darker than yours, institutions pointing toward the elevation of all races and conditions of men. You will perhaps appreciate more keenly the labour of bearing "the white man's burden."

I suppose that there is no country in the world which is more underrated than China. Nevertheless, a cursory glance at the history and present condition of that country will convince the observer that the Chinese are entitled to more consideration among Western peoples, by virtue of their civilization, than is now accorded to them. I shall not in support of this thesis write a learned essay, but I shall speak of things which are on the surface, and which every tourist can see.

China is as tolerant of all forms of religious belief as any country in the world. It has almost reached the mental condition of the Shogun of Japan, who, when he was asked to allow Christianity to be introduced, said: "Yes. Why not? We have so many forms of religion that one more will do no harm." The missionaries of every creed may go where they please in China, may settle down, buy land, and reside. Long ago China tolerated

the Jews and the Nestorians. There are thirty thousand Mohammedans at Peking. You may contrast, if you please, this policy with that of Russia. No ecclesiastic can travel through Siberia. Twice at Peking I made application to have the passports of American missionaries viséed so that they might pass through Siberia *en route* to Russia, and each time I was refused. In China some officials have distinctly religious duties to perform, such as offering sacrifices at the temples, and they cannot be performed by any one who does not conform to the native faiths. Christians cannot, therefore, be appointed to such positions, but there are both civil and military posts which are filled by converts.

It must always be remembered that, while other Eastern nations have risen and reigned for a long or a short period of time, they have ultimately disappeared from the map, while China stands to-day in pristine vigour. Surely some credit should be accorded to a government which has maintained during ages intact in one mass four hundred millions of people. The fact that such numbers of human beings can be clothed, fed, and pro-

tected in their natural rights demonstrates that the institutions under which they are organized must have some strength, reasonableness, and consistency.

The authentic history of China dates back six thousand years. It is claimed for China that her people invented gunpowder and printing and discovered the compass. It is sometimes wondered why the industrial arts — except of the lighter and ornamental kind — have not flourished in her borders. The reason, perhaps, why so little has been accomplished in these lines was the necessity of providing for the immense population. Each invention meant, or was thought to mean, the deprivation of bread to many labourers. One may see in Peking to-day hundreds, even thousands of persons, engaged in the tedious process of sawing huge logs of wood by hand, one man on top and one below. One may see hundreds of bullocks, or of men, turning grindstones to convert grain into flour. Thousands of carriers are employed in drawing water from wells in a single bucket attached to a line, even with no windlass — though sometimes a windlass is used. The

Chinese know as well as we do that a portable steam sawmill would saw all the lumber in a day that all the sawyers can produce in a week. They know that a steam flour-mill would make all the flour in a week that it now takes a month to grind. They know that a pump in the well would save the labour of scores of men. But they also know, or think they know, that it is better for the people and the nation that the labourer should not be turned adrift. Herein has been their fundamental error, which the foreigner is teaching them to correct. The experience of the Western peoples has been that invention increases rather than diminishes the opportunities for labour. The telephone supports more people than all the messengers once used to carry messages. The telegraph has not hurt the letter-carrier, but has given work to thousands of men. The railroad on the line of its tracks has superseded the wagon, but on roads tributary to its course more wagons ply than did before it was constructed, and its cars carry thousands of passengers where formerly one lumbering stage-coach sufficed to accommodate the travel. The cotton-mill

feeds many more people than the hand-loom used to do. These are trite remarks for a Westerner to make, and some day China will thoroughly comprehend their application to herself, and will then move forward with a rapidity which will startle the world. Meantime, in a rude and unfinished way China has practised the gleamings of modern science. She has had suspension bridges for centuries. They are roughly suspended on great chains, but they serve to bridge chasms. Marco Polo, writing in the thirteenth century, tells us of four-masted Chinese ships possessing water-tight compartments, something we claim to have invented. China has the longest canal in the world. It traverses the country from Peking to Hangchau, the former capital of the Sung dynasty. Marco Polo describes it as follows: "You must know that the emperor has caused a water communication to be made from this city (Kwei-chau) to Cambeluc in the shape of a wide and deep channel dug between stream and stream, between lake and lake, forming as it were a great river on which large vessels ply."[1] The work was

[1] See Yule's "Marco Polo," Vol. II., page 136.

finished A. D. 600. Its entire length is 650 miles. China built the Great Wall B. C. 204. In the vocabulary of politicians this work stands as a synonym for insensate folly. When I came to the United States from China in 1894, and refused to talk to the press about diplomatic matters, it proclaimed that I had brought the Great Wall of China along with me! Always narrow, senseless, obstructionist schemes are likened to the Great Wall. Nevertheless, the building of it was a popular and wise thing to do. It was built by the Emperor Tsin Chi'hwangti in order to protect his dominions from incursions of the northern tribes. The Chinese were an unwarlike people, and the Manchus could, and did, dart into their country on their fleet little ponies, commit all kinds of depredations, and escape before they could be punished. The wall stopped these incursions and protected China's autonomy from the time it was built until the Manchus conquered her in 1644.

The Great Wall extends from Shanhaikwan, a coast town situate on the boundary between Chihli and Shingking — through which the railroad from Tientsin to Mukden

now passes — to the Yellow River in the province of Shansi. Williams says that the entire length of the wall is 1,255 miles in a straight line, but its turnings and doublings increase it to fully 1,500 miles.

The use of natural gas has prevailed in China for many centuries. Gas-wells are found in Szechuen contiguous to the salt-wells. The brine is taken to the gas in bamboo pipes and evaporated in iron pans over the jets of flame. This is the only use made of it. I received many letters from Indiana, — where the gas has nearly given out, — asking information as to the probable duration of gas-wells. The circumstances existing in the two localities were so different that no comparisons were available. The immense quantity used, and wasted, in Indiana soon exhausted the supply, but in China it is so little used that it will probably last for ever.

GREAT WALL

sary for the ship to turn around and sail twelve hours in an opposite direction from its true course. The waves did some wonderful things during the storm. They carried away one boat which was lashed on the top deck, and they mashed flat several others which were fastened bottom up. The top light over the ladies' cabin was dashed in by the waves, and the water was two feet deep in the cabin and staterooms. A prayer-meeting was going on which was rudely interrupted. In typhoons waves are sometimes fifty-five feet high. On this occasion a party of men were in the smoking-room — the highest part of the ship — when a great wave came and literally washed us all out on the deck.

Curious as it may seem, on our voyage from San Francisco to Japan, we saw no other ship, and we could not fail to reflect that, if we went down, we would not leave behind us the slightest trace of our existence.

At last, after twenty-two days' sailing, we entered the beautiful port of Yokohama. My old friend, Admiral John S. Davis, invited me to go on the flag-ship, the *Trenton,* to Taku,

is situated fourteen miles from Peking and is the end of the river journey.

The house-boat belonged to the Imperial Maritime Customs, and was let to foreigners at reasonable rates. It was in all respects commodious, having an excellent cuisine and a good crew. The boat was pulled by men, who followed the bends of the most crooked river in the world. We often went ashore for a walk, and we could easily beat the boat for hours. Our path led us sometimes through flat fields from which the crops had been gathered, and sometimes through villages of mud huts teeming with people. The river was crowded with boats, of whch five thousand plied between Tientsin and Tungcho, and sometimes great rafts of logs were being towed up-stream by a hundred men. Afterward, in 1896, going up this river in a house-boat towed by a steam-tug, which the viceroy had tendered to us, my wife and I came within an ace of losing our lives. The tug suddenly started across the river, and the steersman on our boat failed to turn the rudder to the new course. The consequence was that we struck a promontory, and, as we could not

go ahead, and the tugboat still pulled at us, our boat turned nearly upside down. With great difficulty we got out of the windows on the sides on to the bottom of the boat, and slid thence into the river, and we had hardly reached the shore before the boat sank completely under water. The men dove in the water and fished out our trunks, but the beautiful silks of Japan, and the lacquer boxes which were warranted to stand any submersion, were utterly destroyed. The purple velvet lining of the boxes had run over the silks, and they were worthless. Of course our loss was considerable. We were in pajamas, and the rest of our clothes were under the muddy water, but fortunately a late wash at Tientsin had been put on the servants' boat, and we found some linen garments, which we wore on the tug until we reached Tungcho. While we were on the boat a great wind came up, and we saw many of our garments which had been hung up to dry blown overboard. Once, in going from Tientsin to Tungcho, I was six days on a boat. The time we were upset we were three days in making the trip, but we had a tug to pull us. Now the river trip

is abandoned. There is a fine railroad eighty miles long between Tientsin and Peking, and the journey is made in a comfortable car in four hours. I do not know that the traveller gains by the change. He has lost the long, dreamy river trip, the rambles through the country, the card-playing, the social converse, which make the house-boat delightful.

At Tungcho, 120 miles by river from Tientsin, and fourteen from Peking, we were met by ponies and chairs, and we started for the capital. We did not follow the stone road, which is the main line of communication between the two cities, but travelled over a country road. Nothing in China is ever repaired, and the stone road had become almost impassable. Huge stones, which were put down at some remote period, have disappeared, and left deep holes, into which the wheels of carts incessantly sink, and the passenger suffers the pains of purgatory. The art of road-making is unknown in China. The wear of centuries has created tracks, many of which are cut into deep, narrow passages, which during the rainy season resemble canals. Borne in chairs, the inequalities of

the surface do not affect one's comfort, and the bearers easily go six miles an hour. Long before one reaches Peking the scenes on the road betoken the approach to a great city. Every species of rude vehicle is encountered; heavy, springless carts, wagons drawn by nondescript teams consisting of seven horses, or three horses and two mules, or a donkey and several mules, or some bullocks and horses, all hitched in inscrutable modes by ropes tied around the axles, but all somehow aiding in the slow propulsion. A common vehicle is a wheelbarrow, with a wheel in the middle, and the freight nicely balanced, and on the great plains a sail is used to help the locomotion. Many bearers of heavy loads were passed, — dozens of men sometimes carrying one article, such, for instance, as a piano, or a piece of heavy furniture. Riders of mules, horses, and donkeys became numerous. There were Manchu officers wearing the red-bordered regulation straw hat; sleek bonzes astride of diminutive donkeys; batches of six camels with strings stretching through their noses to attach them together, and their driver asleep on the last camel; yellow chairs borne by four,

six, or eight bearers, containing a prince or princess of the reigning dynasty, or some grandee of the Empire; and smart attachés of the foreign legations riding at a gallop little Manchu ponies. The grand canal extends from Tungcho to Peking. There are no locks, but there are four levels from three to four miles long. Great barges are loaded with tribute rice, which is brought to Tientsin by junks, then up the Peiho, and thence to Peking, and at each level these barges are unloaded, the rice is carried over the dams and put in other barges, and thus transported until the capital is reached. It is a slow process, but the abundance of cheap labour renders it easy of accomplishment.

We arrived at Peking the last day of September, 1885, during the splendid autumn, a season charming everywhere, but peculiarly so in North China. At Peking it never rains except in July or the first half of August. Then it pours — a regular deluge. In a few weeks after the rain ceases, the unclouded sun dries up the moisture, the air is fresh and exhilarating, the roads solid, and the foliage brilliant with the gorgeous hues of the forest trees,

such as the maple, the beech, and the oak. I think the climate of Peking, barring only the winds in the spring, is the most delightful in the world. The four seasons are distinct and well-defined, and winter does not jump into summer as in some other places. The winters are exceedingly cold; all the streams freeze up; the sea in shallow places — as off Taku — sometimes freezes many miles from shore. At Peking, from the middle of December to the middle of March, in my time, there was no communication with the south, except that the mails were carried pony-back from Chinkiang — which is 144 miles up the Yang-tse — to the capital. Only letters and one newspaper for each person were carried. At the beginning of this postal service there were no mails for three weeks, then the ponies began to arrive, and there was an irregular mail — about every four days. The distance between Chinkiang and Peking is 750 miles. Now the mails are landed in the winter at Shanhaikuan, and thence taken to Peking by rail.

The spring-time is delicious at Peking, as it is elsewhere, except that the winds blowing over the Gobi desert bring with them dense

clouds of dust, which permeate every nook and corner. This dust is sometimes seen three hundred miles out at sea. It is the terror of housekeepers, but it is said to be a disinfectant, and to promote health. At all events, Peking, with no sewerage, and no regular system of street-cleaning, and with a population of five hundred thousand, is one of the healthiest cities in the world — though it is also one of the filthiest.

Away off in the distance, as you approach Peking, you see the long, dim, curious line of the city wall. Its antiquity, its strangeness, and its weird beauty startle and captivate you. The outer and inner parapets are built of brick laid in cement, the centre being packed with earth. There are two walls, one around the Chinese city, and the other around the Tartar city. The latter is fifty feet high, forty feet in width at the top, and sixty at the bottom. The heavy bricks are as hard as stone. The wall around the Chinese city is thirty feet high, twenty-five feet thick at the bottom, and fifteen feet at the top. The wall around the Tartar city is sixteen miles long, and eleven around the Chinese city.

The southern wall of the Tartar city constitutes the northern of the Chinese city. There are esplanades leading up to the top of the wall at various places around its circumference. Chinese subjects are prohibited from going on the wall, but as a special act of grace the foreigner is allowed to walk on it, but he cannot be carried in a chair, or ride a horse on its surface. One daredevil American naval lieutenant rode his horse around over the top of the wall, and I anticipated very great trouble from this gross breach of regulations, but the guardians of the wall were afraid to report him, lest they should be decapitated, and to my great relief hushed the matter up. It is the fashion for young people to walk all around the surface, and until one has done this one is scarcely acclimated. Many pleasant afternoons are spent on the wall by the ladies of the legations. As the wall is comparatively little used, it is covered with vegetation, and on its top and sides trees of considerable size have grown.

There were nine gates in the wall around the city; one has been added since the Boxer riots, to which the railway comes in the lega-

tion quarter. We entered one of these gates, — the Hattamen, — Hatta being the name of the street, and "men" meaning gate. It is one of the principal streets of the city. A short distance from this gate Baron Ketteler, the German minister, was killed by the Boxers. A splendid monument has been erected on the spot. I knew the baron well. He was secretary of the German Embassy for five years while I was in Peking. He was a splendid, charming, accomplished gentleman, with the most engaging manners in the world, utterly unassuming, and speaking English like a native. The baron was the head of the young society. He led the cotillion at the legation balls, sang at the concerts, was prominent on the race-track and at the picnics. Surely no personal hostility, no dislike of the man, caused his deplorable death. It was either a sudden incident in the tragedy of crime, or perhaps dislike of his nationality, which robbed the world and his own family of an accomplished diplomat, a devoted husband, and a gentleman *sans peur et sans reproche*. On entering the city one notices that the houses copy the Tartar tent and are uniformly one

story high. The private houses are always surrounded by a brick wall. The Chinese love privacy, and a common complaint is that the foreigners build houses which overlook their yards. The Hatta Street is broad, without well-defined sidewalks, with a raised embankment in the centre, and cesspools in front of many houses.

The Chinese are accounted to be in their personal relations the politest nation in the world. Their great philosopher — Confucius — took as much account of etiquette as he did of morals, and more than he did of religion. Still their habits are vile. The streets in many of the cities — especially Peking — are public latrines, and are places of deposit for all the garbage of every household, while the walls of the houses are plastered with the vilest advertisements. Going up Hatta Street a few steps and turning to the left, we reached Legation Street, as the foreigners call it, — the street of "Subject Nations" according to Chinese nomenclature. Here begins the arena in which the Boxer war of 1900 was fought. You pass successively the Italian, French, Japanese, and Spanish Legation premises on

the right, and on the left the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation building and the German Legation, until you reach the moat, across which on the right is the Russian Legation, and on the left, opposite, the goal of our journey — the American Legation. Let it be noticed that one no longer says United States Legation abroad. It is always American Legation. This is strictly correct. We are the United States of America, and it is proper to use the last word in designating our nationality. During the Boxer riots, the city wall was the key to the position. The American Legation grounds extended from Legation Street in front to the street which lies under the wall. Back of the Russian premises, across a narrow street, is the English enclosure. These two legations are in line with the premises which were then occupied, but are not now, by the Americans, and a force commanding the wall commands all of them. It became absolutely necessary to drive the Chinese from the wall, and this was most gallantly done by our marines under Captain Meyers, assisted by some English marines and some Chinese converts. Farther up,

the Germans held the wall nearer to the Hatta-men, and thus the enemy was prevented from occupying that position of the wall which overlooks, and commands, the principal part of the legation quarter. The Italian and Austrian Legations, and Sir Robert Hart's fine place, which is near them, were destroyed, but the other legation buildings remained intact, except that the French were somewhat injured. The Dutch Legation building, which was between the American and the Chien Men, the principal gate of the city, was also destroyed.

Our arrival antedated by fifteen years these disturbances. The old diplomatic corps, led by Herr von Brandt, the dean, Minister of Germany, who had been in the East fifteen years, cultivated friendly relations with the empress-dowager, who was for the second time Regent of China. The Emperor Kwang-su was a minor, and the empress ruled in his stead. There were riots occurring now and then in the vast Empire, but the Chinese paid heavy damages for all injuries done, and continually promised that they would live up to the treaties which guaranteed protection to

the foreign residents. The Chinese were learning the difficult lesson of how to regulate foreign intercourse. They had signed the treaties not knowing their real meaning. In 1885 the body of gentlemen who represented the great nations of the world were kind, considerate, and persuasive. They sought to educate China rather than to coerce her. At this point it is only necessary to say that the coöperative policy, whereby complete unison of action among the foreign representatives prevailed, was in full force, and that its abandonment has produced nothing but evil.

CHAPTER III.

FOREIGN LIFE AT PEKING

THE grounds of the American Legation comprised about one acre of land, on which were scattered around houses for the minister, the first and second secretaries, the interpreter, the Chinese writer, and the chancellery. They are all one story, and had been originally Chinese dwellings. The legation premises were owned by the heirs of Dr. S. S. Williams, the author of the Chinese dictionary and the "Middle Kingdom." He had bought them with money paid as an indemnity for damages done at Canton, expecting that the government would retain them, but the Secretary of State declined to ratify this arrangement, and Doctor Williams took over the premises as his own, and leased them to the government. The buildings were old and inelegant, but their location was the best in

Peking, and no minister ever complained of their being insufficient for his occupation.

Arriving at Peking, the first duty of the diplomatic stranger is to call on the Tsung-li-Yamen, foreign office, to pay his respects and to be recognized in his official capacity. The minister bears a letter signed by the President, addressed to " My good and great friend," the emperor, which constitutes his credentials. As the emperor was still a minor, and the empress ruled China as regent, and etiquette forbade that her Majesty should receive any foreigner, these credentials were never delivered. They were deposited, together with those of my predecessors, in the office safe, where they remain. The call on the Yamen is the only one the stranger is required to make. In other countries official calls are the dread of the visitor, but there was in my day no court circle at Peking, and social intercourse with the foreigners was frowned on by the empress. Once a year, at the foreign New Year, thirty of the chief officials call in batches of ten each on the ministers, at the same time leaving cards for the other members of the legations, and these calls are returned by the diplomatic

corps in a body at the foreign office during the Chinese New Year, which comes in February. On one of the occasions a dignified Chinese official was overheard inquiring what legation ours was, and, being told it was the American, he asked what language the occupants spoke. The absence of the necessity of meeting each other socially was a great relief both to the Chinese and to the foreigners. Except on rare occasions, social intercourse would have been exceedingly tedious for both parties. Occasionally, however, Li Hung Chang, Chang Yin Huan, Prince Ching, and the Marquis Tseng dined with the foreigners, and the presence of these cultivated and distinguished men added interest to the entertainment. Of these four only one — Prince Ching — survives. Li and the Marquis Tseng died natural deaths. Chang was decapitated by the empress on charges made against him of fraudulently dealing with foreigners in the matter of railroad concessions. Prince Ching is still at the head of Tsung-li-Yamen.

By an ingenious fiction the diplomatic corps is supposed to be one family. When a member of it arrives at a post he must make the

first call on all the other members, down to the wife of the youngest attaché. This duty performed, he and his family are received in friendly and even affectionate intercourse. During my stay of thirteen years at Peking there was but one instance of personal ill-will occurring among the foreign representatives. This one arose over a question of precedence, between a secretary and an interpreter, and some bad blood was generated, nearly culminating in a duel. Rank and position at table, and elsewhere, were fixed as if by the laws of the Medes and Persians. The ranking minister was the one who had been longest in the country, and he was the dean of the corps. The wives of ministers had the same rank as their husbands, but it sometimes happened that the dean was a bachelor, in which case the ranking lady became the doyenne of the corps. This system extended through all the grades of the legations. The oldest secretary in time of service ranked the others. It was a serious question what to do with Sir Robert Hart, the Inspector-General of the Imperial Maritime Customs, who entertained splendidly, but had no diplomatic rank. It was determined

that he should come after the chargés d'affaires, and so for thirty years or more Sir Robert has seen ministers and chargés take precedence of him at the dinners.

At Peking it was never permitted to put a colleague out of his proper place except by his permission, which was invariably granted on application made. Once when the wife of a distinguished Senator visited Peking, my wife and I were very anxious to give her the first place at a dinner given by a colleague, and particularly requested that the host would take her out, but he refused, insisting that the rules must not be violated, and the doyenne should go first. A distinguished lady told me that she entertained at dinner in the City of Mexico the President of the Mexican Republic and General Grant at the same time. It was a question which of these great personages she should take out. Naturally and correctly she was escorted by President Diaz, the universal rule being that the highest representative of the government of the country present shall have the first place. We always gave the highest place to the most exalted Chinese official present because he represented the emperor.

Outside, and beyond the officialdom, which regulated every ceremonious event, no attention whatever was paid to personal rank. Almost every German is a baron, every Russian is a prince, while Spanish, Italian, and French counts abound. In general society such distinctions were ignored. Inferior members of the legations, and employés of the Imperial Maritime Customs, were received with as much kindness and courtesy as the wearers of ancient titles. The princess danced and rode with the newly arrived customs appointee, and the minister played whist with the youngest attaché. In the endless round of balls, picnics, and private theatricals, rank was disregarded, while good manners and personal accomplishments were sure guarantees to social success. The head of the Imperial Maritime Customs was apt to bring to Peking ladies who were beautiful, and young men who played the violin or piano, and who danced divinely. We had the pick of all the service, and it must be said that no more accomplished men can be found than those who made the entertainments of their chief the most attractive in Peking.

The rule of Sir Robert was to appoint no person except graduates of colleges to positions in the indoor staff of the Customs. This rule resulted in filling the service with alumni of all the great universities in the world. It brought together young men who spoke every language in Europe, and who were prepared by severe intellectual labour to overcome the linguistic and other difficulties in their paths. These young men were gentlemen, and it is believed that no scandal ever originated in the service.

Among the families of the diplomatic corps the best of feeling prevailed. Away up north, out of the beaten paths of tourists' travel, cut off four months by ice from the balance of the world, the residents of Peking were thrown on their own resources for their amusements and their pleasures. A club of forty members, with tennis-court, billiard-room, reading-room, and card-tables, was well patronized. There were serious societies, too, for studious people. The missionary society met once every month, and literary and scholastic giants crossed swords in warm discussion. At that time there were prominent at Peking many of the

most eminent religious scholars in China, of whom some were Doctors Martin, Blodgett, Owen, Edkins, Sheffield, Lowry, Goodrich, Taft, and Gamewell. Some of these men were most charming personalities, and others have made immortal names in literature. Besides religious subjects, important historical and international topics were discussed, and learning, eloquence, and oratory of a high order were often displayed. Another association added greatly to the winter's enjoyment and to instruction and knowledge. It was the Peking Branch of the Oriental Society of London. Representatives of all classes of men belonged to this society. One might read a paper in any language, but English or French was generally used.

The members of the diplomatic corps had served in every capital in Europe, and had gathered the lore of every national literature. There was no restriction as to topics of discussion, though, naturally, the greater number of papers was devoted to Asiatic subjects.

Some of the members of this society, who were associated with me in its membership, are filling now with distinction positions in the

universities of London and Paris, and some represent their governments in the chief countries of the world.

During the summer everybody, except the Customs people, went to the hills twelve miles west of Peking. The most noted place of summer resort was "Patachu," or "the eight great places," where, niched one above another on one hill, were eight large temples. Since the time of Burlingame, 1863, the Americans have occupied Sanshanan, or the "Temple of the Three Hills." Just above them was the "Temple of the Spirit Light," Ta Pay Ssu, which was first tenanted by Sir Frederick Bruce, and has subsequently been usually occupied by the British. Doctor Martin had Pow Ju Tung, nearly on the top of the hill, and the Russians lived in Ling Kuang Ssu. Some Chinese dignitaries came to the other temples. This vicinity was noted for its temples. A few miles away was the celebrated temple Wo Fo Ssu, where a great sleeping Buddha was represented in stone, and Pi Yun Ssu, which was remarkable for its large and artistic stone monument and its realistic representation of the Buddhist hell, and its heaven, Nirvana. The

reproduction of the infernal regions consists of a ghastly portrayal of every form of punishment, such as burning bodies in oil, sawing them asunder, decapitation, devouring by strange dogs, torturing by devils; while Nirvana is represented as a quiet and orderly place, where well-dressed people are seated in ecstatic enjoyment, doing nothing, or, as John Hay put it, "loafing around the throne." Old graveyards and ruins are found everywhere, and every coign of vantage is capped by a temple.

The foreigners have renamed the peaks with their own historic appellations, but they have not improved on a nomenclature which combined poetry with accuracy of description. Thus the "Tiger's Head" is not improved by being called "Mount Bruce," or the "Green Mountain" by being transferred into "Burlingame," and no change can improve on such designations as the "Temple of the Spirit Light," the "Temple of Long Repose," or the "Pearl Grotto." These hills extend south for four hundred miles to the Yellow River, and northward to those which fringe the Mongolian plateau. It seems sad that not even

their original names have been left to this locality of picturesque scenery, but in this regard, as in all others, the foreigner asserts his superiority over all things Chinese. He is piercing the gorges of these mountains now, and tunnelling beneath their surface. He has a railroad station at the Lu Kouchiao bridge, six miles from the hills, which Marco Polo described in the thirteenth century, and which stands to-day unchanged from his description of it, except that two spans have been added. Marco Polo was formerly held to be a great liar, — he ranked with Baron Munchausen, — but modern investigation has shown that he was an accurate and veracious writer.

Life at the hills was unsurpassed in its comfort and enjoyment. For the nonce etiquette was done away with. Everybody dressed in white linen. The evening coat was tabooed. Excursions and picnics were the order of the day. There were curious sights to see all around in the mountains and in the plains. Around and about us was a great Chinese population, whose daily life and arts and agriculture lay open to our view. There had been no disturbance in the Province of Chihli since

1870, when the disastrous riot occurred at Tientsin, in which thirteen nuns were torn limb from limb, and the French consul and two Russians — a bride and a groom — were murdered by a mob. The people were friendly. We went everywhere among them unattended. Good markets for the products of the country were furnished by the foreigners, and butchers, grocers, messengers, and carriers reaped a harvest. Often we took tea in the tea-houses, or stopped at farms to chat with the proprietors. We had no guards or soldiers, and felt as safe as any one feels in the country around his home in our own land. It is sad to reflect that the time came when these quiet and kindly country people became demons.

The country-house of the British Legation was destroyed by a mob, and the great tower at the temple below Sanshanan, Ling Kuang Ssu, was levelled with the ground. The grandstand and the other buildings at the race-track four miles from Peking were all burnt. The track was the scene of much jollity of Chinese and foreigners for many years. Here the Chinese came in countless numbers to see the foreigner ride, and particularly to enjoy the race

of the mafoos, — hostlers, — which wound up the races. Each mafoo rode his master's best horse, which he had himself trained. The contest was usually close, and myriads of voices acclaimed the successful rider. Except the mafoos, none but gentlemen riders rode. Everything was fair and honest, but bets ran high. Once in the maiden race there was only one young girl in Peking, — her horse of course won. A dinner with speeches and fun and jollity followed, in which a deputation from the Yamen always joined.

CHAPTER IV.

PEKING

THE city of Peking is situate upon a sandy plain in latitude 39 degrees, 54 minutes, 36 seconds north, and longitude 116 degrees, 27 minutes east. This is nearly the parallel of Samarcand, Naples, and Philadelphia. The city's population is something less than a million. The syllable "Pe" means north, and in the Chinese language Peking is "Peching," which means the northern capital. Formerly Nanking was the southern capital, Nan meaning south. Peking comprises the Tartar city, the Chinese city, the imperial city, and the forbidden city. The Tartar city is occupied by the court, the residences of princes, the legations, and stores and business houses, but the important business of the city is done in the Chinese city. Here are the Chinese theatres

and clubs and the great wholesale houses. The Tartar city was laid out in grand style, with broad streets and avenues. Long ago it was sewered, but the sewers have been gradually filled up, and are only used as cesspools. The only work that is ever done on the streets is just before the emperor goes to one of the temples, when yellow dirt is sprinkled over them. The imperial city is inside the Tartar city. It is surrounded by a wall. Its enclosure measures about three miles in length and two in width. In it the Peitang, or northern Catholic cathedral, is located. The Tzu-K'in-Ching, or "Carnation prohibited city," is situate in the imperial city. It is surrounded by a moat. Here lives the emperor, surrounded by 2,500 eunuchs. One of his appellations is that of the "Solitary Man," which he well deserves, because, except the eunuchs, no man resides in the prohibited city. The emperor, however, is well supplied with wives. He took to himself in one day three wives and he has eighty concubines. The chief eunuch is a man of great importance. He controls and manages all matters appertaining to the palace, and he has sometimes played an important part in polit-

ical affairs. He has a difficult job in controlling the concubines. These ladies were divided into classes, first, second, and third, and were sometimes degraded from a higher class to a lower for offences committed by them, which were chiefly interfering in public affairs. They have to serve until they attain twenty-five years of age. Then, if they have not become mothers, they are discharged.

The emperor's life is laborious, or was until the empress-dowager relieved him from his most serious labours. For either the empress or the emperor the hour of reception is one o'clock in the morning. Before that hour the city gates open for the entrance of officials who live in the Chinese city. The empress receives behind a screen. No person, except Prince Henry of Prussia, ever saw her face until she returned to Peking from Shensi after the riots. She has instituted now the system of receiving the ladies of the diplomatic corps at lunches and entertainments. During my stay at Peking the emperor received first the Grand Council, which is the real governing body of China. They presented themselves at one o'clock, and were permitted to kneel on

cushions. Other officials were received in turn, but they were all compelled to kneel on the floor, — a difficulty which was overcome, however, by carrying a cushion under their ample robes.

At one audience Li Hung Chang had an unfortunate experience. In later years Li was always partly supported by a man who walked beside him. After reaching the imperial palace one winter morning at two o'clock, Li was compelled to leave his assistant and stagger along alone the best he could through dimly lighted corridors. He reached the anteroom nearly exhausted. When he went into the presence of the emperor he sank to his knees, but he could not retain that position, and by degrees kept sinking until he lay prone on his side. When the audience was over, he could not get up. The emperor told him to drag himself to the door, and take hold of the knob and pull himself up, but he was unable to do so. Finally a eunuch was called in, who lifted the old statesman to his feet and assisted him until he reached the anteroom, where he fell on a sofa and remained two hours asleep. Then some beef tea was given him, and he

was enabled to grope along the corridors until he encountered his own servant, who helped him to his sedan-chair. After this incident the emperor, by imperial decree, authorized a eunuch to assist Li at audiences. These early audiences, when the temperature is below zero, are very trying on old officials. The palace is about half a mile from the gate. Etiquette compels every one to leave his chair at the gate, and traverse the remaining distance afoot, though, as a special act of grace, some of the oldest statesmen are allowed to ride ponies. The Chinese wear very heavy furs, as they do not usually have any fires in their houses. The long walk heats them, and they arrive covered with perspiration, and when they cool off their condition tends to bring on a fever. The late Marquis Tseng, several weeks before his death, told me that he had applied in vain for the privilege of riding a pony from the gate to the palace, and he was sure that the unwonted exercise of walking in heavy furs would cause his death. In a short time his prediction was verified. He was the son of the great Tseng Quofan, who was chiefly instrumental in putting down the Tai-

ping rebellion; he had been nine years minister to England, and was a wise, progressive diplomatist. His death was greatly regretted by the diplomatic corps, who attended his funeral in a body, after the proposal to do so had been lengthily discussed and argued by the Yamen.

In a recent work, "American Diplomacy in the Orient," Hon. John W. Foster has thoroughly presented the phases of the audience question, and it would be useless repetition to go over them in these pages. An imperfect ceremony of audience had been performed in 1873, while Tung Chi was emperor. After his death, which occurred shortly after the audience, and during the minority of Kwang-su, the empress-dowager was regent, and an audience according to Chinese notions was impossible. Upon the attainment of his majority, which in China occurs at twenty years of age, Kwang-su, in 1891, entered on the active discharge of the duties of government. One of his first acts was to announce by imperial edict that he would receive the foreign representatives and their suites in audience. No proposition looking to this result

emanated from the diplomatic corps. There was, indeed, a distinct party in the corps which deprecated any assimilation of Chinese usages to those prevailing in Western countries. Notably, Herr von Brandt was decidedly of the opinion that injury would result to foreign interests by impairing or altering the ancient usages of China. His idea was that China was to be kept in leading-strings; that she was not to be inducted as an equal into the family of nations, and the more barbaric she was in her customs the greater the influence of the foreign powers over her destinies would be. Plainly there is some strength in the argument that the Chinese should not be thoroughly instructed in the rights and powers which accrue to all independent nations under international law. Realizing her power, China may do away with extraterritoriality, as Japan has done. She may denounce the right now enjoyed by foreign ships to engage in the coastwise or river trade. She may adopt a protective tariff, and annihilate foreign commerce. She may exclude American labourers from China, as we have excluded Chinese labourers from this country. Still, a majority of the

diplomatic corps thought that, as the emperor had of his own motion invited us to an audience, we could not, without gross disrespect, refuse to accept it. It was argued, too, that, in any event, by our treaties we should continue to control the foreign policies of China, and that a fair and honourable audience, implying no degradation of self-respect, would satisfy a great public foreign sentiment, and would tend to show that China had relinquished her absurd claim to the rulership of the world, and had admitted her equality with the foreign powers. It seemed, also, that the Chinese public would be favourably impressed, and would respect foreigners more than before. It is doubtful whether any of these results actually followed. It was given out that the foreign representatives bore tribute to the throne, and the subsequent history of China does not disclose that good feeling was brought about. After many weeks of discussion as to details, the audience was held March 5, 1891. It is useless to describe the ceremonial because the progress of events has wrought a complete change in the programme. The audience took place in the

Tzu-Kuang-Ko, or "Kiosk of Purplish Brightness," the same hall in which the ministers were received in 1873, situate in the Western Gardens.

In 1895, after the Japanese war was over, another audience took place, — this time in the precincts of the imperial palace in the Hall of Literary Glory. It approached much nearer in its ceremonial to foreign usages than former audiences had done. When, in 1898, I delivered my letter of recall, I stood beside the emperor on a raised dais, and read to him my farewell address. He sat in a marble chair. He responded most touchingly to my valedictory. The next day he sent me the decoration of the "Double Dragon," which is the highest testimonial that China can bestow on ambassadors. As my successor had been presented at court, I was no longer minister, and could lawfully accept this testimonial of the respect of the government with which I had been so long associated.

The audience question was finally settled by the protocol entered into between China and the Treaty Powers, September 7, 1901, by which a court ceremonial was agreed upon in

conformity with Western usage. Thus the long contest, which commenced with the performance of the "kotow," has resulted, in so far as formal intercourse is concerned, in the recognition that China has abandoned her claim to universal dominion, and has acknowledged the equality of nations. Out of the new system will grow court entertainments, the advancement of women in the social scale, and on the part of the foreigners and the Chinese, reciprocally, a greater respect for each other. Modern arts will make Peking what it is naturally designed to be, one of the most beautiful cities in the world, and it will become a great railroad centre. For the present, however, we are to consider it as it was in 1885. Many pens have described the Imperial City, but every gleaner finds something new to write about.

To the tax-burdened people of the West, Peking would be a paradise. To those persons who live in locations where taxes aggregate three per cent. on a high valuation, and money brings only four per cent., leaving only one-fourth of one's income for one's own use, a non-taxable condition would represent perfect

bliss. In Peking there are no taxes, except that at the gates a small duty is collected on goods brought into the city, — practically the ancient octroi, — and where land is sold a fee is paid for the transfer. Neither land nor personal property pays any taxes. There is no common council to be conciliated, and no regular city police. The Banner corps police the city, and the mayor is called a prefect, and governs by military rule. There are few licenses of any kind. There are none for vehicles. The government of the city is simple and satisfactory. Encroachments continually take place on the streets, and are acquiesced in. Barbers and peddlers of all kinds use the streets as they please. There are no waterworks or gas, except in the buildings of the Imperial Maritime Customs, and only a few wide-apart oil lamps on the streets, no sidewalks, no paving, and no machinery in use. An inexhaustible supply of human labour takes the place of modern inventions, and does it well. Going from houses supplied with bathrooms, electric or gas lights, furnaces, and similar things, one would naturally think that some inconvenience would be suffered in

houses which possess none of these advantages, but no such feeling of deprivation exists. Your bath is prepared by the coolies, who bring in the water and temper it to your wish. The coal-oil lamp freely used is as agreeable a light as one desires, and stoves and fireplaces are not bad substitutes for hot air or warm water. An army of servants is necessary, of course, but they are fabulously cheap. We paid six Mexican dollars a month to the ordinary house coolie, and he supplied his own food. We did this not only when the Mexican was worth eighty cents of our money, but also when it had fallen to below fifty cents, so that a man's monthly wage was three dollars, or less, of our money. It must be said that on this pay the servants thrived and raised large families, who by degrees furnished us "boys" and coolies. Some of them had been in the legation thirty years. They were respectable, honest people, the so-called pagans not being inferior in any wise to the Catholic or Protestant converts. It should not be supposed, however, that their only means of support was the monthly wages. A large source of revenue for the legation servants was "cumshaws,"

or "tips," as we call gifts made by guests. Besides, there is a system of "squeezing" prevailing in all ranks and conditions of men. It commences with the highest officials and reaches down to the lowest coolie. The dignified and wealthy members of the Tsung-li-Yamen were paid one thousand taels per annum, — a sum which varied in value with the fluctuations of silver, and recently was equal to $520 of our money, — but this meagre pay was supplemented by many thousands of taels received from appointees to office. The head of the Yamen realized Tls. 250,000, and no one of his eight associates got less than Tls. 30,000. This money was paid as regularly as salaries three times a year by all holders of office. Li Hung Chang had up to the time of his death a man employed at Peking, whose sole duty it was to pay money to thirty of the highest officials. In this way he retained his influence.

In 1894, when the empress dowager attained the age of sixty years, which is a great event in China, it was expected, and even requested, that presents should be sent to her by her officials and her wealthy subjects. These pres-

ents poured in in large numbers. At the palace gates the chief eunuch levied a tribute on each gift, and sometimes compelled the donor to pay as much as Taels 5,000 before his gifts were delivered. I was told by a very respectable and subsequently distinguished gentleman that when he was appointed an expectant official he was required by etiquette to pay his personal respects to the emperor in order to thank him for his preferment, and that it cost him Tls. 4,000 to get into the palace. No article could be taken into any household without the payment of a percentage of its price — usually ten per cent. — to the gatekeeper. Usually when Americans, who are always supposed to be rich, were our guests, the servants reaped a harvest, because they bought curios without limit. When a new chancellery was built by the owners in the legation precincts, the contractor was forced to pay the servants Tls. 500. When the foreigner bought articles at the stores, the merchant would inquire whether he intended himself to take his purchases home. If so, the price was as stated, but if the merchant had to send the articles to the foreigner's stopping-place, ten per cent.

must be added to the price, because the gatekeeper would collect that amount from him. Speaking of rich Americans, it must be said that their extravagance is condemned by all European travellers in the Far East. At my table one day a kind friend, who was himself a millionaire, amused himself and me by detailing the millions which were represented by the guests, and wound up by informing me that the biggest rich man present paid his cook six thousand dollars a year — half my salary! My countrymen are splendid fellows. Always and everywhere, they are intensely patriotic. They do not mean to be ostentatious, but their expenditures disturb the Eastern markets when, for instance, they throw five-dollar bills to drivers who expect only a quarter. The practice, too, of chartering steamers for small parties is calculated to set bad examples. One gentleman chartered in an Eastern port a steamer for himself and wife to go on a hunting trip to Kamchatka, and, when the owner represented that he must guarantee the return of the steamer, he inquired how much it was worth, and handed over his check for $150,000. I do not want to criticize, but it may

be permitted to suggest that a crying error of Americans in the society of quiet and elegant men and women of the world is always to get up an argument, and I have often seen this fault made prominent. Once it happened that some "gold" people met some "silver" people at table, and the argument waxed fast and furious, until the host, becoming anxious for the prestige of his dinner, mildly but pointedly suggested that they were justifying the criticism that foreigners make on us, that we never converse, but only argue. After that the subject was dropped.

CHAPTER V.

THE IMPERIAL CITY

TO the stranger arriving in a foreign city, the most interesting sights are not the high buildings, the stately bridges, the museums, or the public monuments. As in duty bound, he must see all these, and admire them, but the street life, the *va et le vient,* the come and the go of the passers-by on such avenues as the Champs Elysées, the Strand, Broadway, the six-feet wide streets of Canton, or the broad boulevards of Peking constitute the chief charm of foreign travel in these localities. One never tires of the strange scenes in the streets of Peking: the crowds training birds, each man throwing his bird in the air to have it return to perch on his finger; the kite-fliers rivalling each other in the distances to which they can send their kites; the extempore kitch-

ens covering the sides of the streets; the barbers' boxes which are carried from place to place, and on which the customers sit while their heads are shaved; men playing battledore with their feet; archers practising shooting at a mark, as graceful as Apollo; great funeral processions bearing chicken cocks, with horses and camels marching along, and numerous retainers of the family of the dead in pompous or uncouth array; wedding processions, with gifts of all kinds, such as fruits, furniture, great boxes filled with domestic articles, the red sedan of the bride closed and locked, and in front the roasted pork to tempt the evil spirits to feed on it; companies of Manchu soldiers bearing spears and swords; endless lines of carts, some with the wheels placed at an unusual distance behind, a token of princely rank; and sedan-chairs borne by two, four, or eight men; the imperial chair, seen by stealth from a crack in a window, borne by sixteen men instead of the chariot drawn by elephants, which was formerly in use; riders of ambling mules which may have cost five hundred taels or more, or Manchu ponies or donkeys; here and there gatherings of atten-

tive listeners to hear the story-tellers recite their wondrous romances; acrobats, or jugglers, performing wonderful feats; fanatics with iron spikes stuck through their cheeks, or seated in a box studded with nails, which pierce them when they move. A cash will remove a nail, and, when they are all taken out, the sanctified occupant goes somewhere else to prosecute his pious trade in human credulity.

China has outlying countries of which the world knows little. She has, or had, Tibet, Ili, Burmah, Manchuria, Mongolia, Korea, Nipal, and numerous semi-independent tribes whose names are known only to the historian. The Chinese divide their Empire into, first, the Eighteen Provinces, China proper; Manchuria, the native country of the Manchus lying north of the Gulf of Liao-tung as far as the Amur, and west of the Usuri River; and colonial possessions, including Mongolia, Ili (comprising Sungaria and Eastern Turkestan), Kokonor, and Tibet. From all these countries during the period that I remained at Peking there came representatives, sometimes bearing tribute, sometimes on business ventures. Korea sent, until she was made in-

dependent by Japan, a mission every year bearing tribute, and incidentally selling ginseng, which was admitted duty free. Each year a Mongolian deputation came partly to dispose of skins, game, carpets, and brassware, and partly to do obeisance to the throne. Nipal, also, sent a body of little black men on a similar mission, and so did all the subject countries. In the winter the streets were full of these curious representatives of outlying peoples, all in their tribal costumes, among whom the Korean with his horse-hair hat, the Nepaulese with his turban, the Manchu with his almost brimless hat, and the Mongolian women decked out with barbaric splendour of silver rings and ornaments, were prominent. On the streets also were citizens or subjects of many Asiatic, American, and European nations, and the spick and span Japanese copying carefully the costumes of the West. Priests of all religions thronged the streets, — the Roman Catholic bishop riding in an ordinary Chinese cart, the long-haired Greek archdeacon, the Buddhist and Taoist monk, the British bishop in pumps and silk stockings, and the American missionary, wearing in the winter

the same clothes that he wore in Indiana or Illinois, or in the summer-time dressed in white like everybody else. In strolling, one passed through seething crowds of trading, working, laborious people, who every now and then rested at the tea-shops, where they might carry on converse on all subjects save one. On the walls the motto stared them in the face: "Do not talk politics." The Chinese is curiously constituted. Of patriotic love for China as a whole, he is absolutely unprovided, but he loves as much, or more than people of any other race, the spot where he was born. In general he has to devote all his days to the effort to make a scanty living. He works for infinitesimally small compensation, — a wage of ten, fifteen, or twenty-five silver cents a day. He knows nothing personally of his rulers, and cares not what they do so they let him alone. Governmental matters are not his "pidgin." He regards the residents of other provinces than his own as strangers or enemies. In the south of China he is a beast of burden. There are no animals but the water buffalo, which tramps down the mud in the rice paddies. All the tea you drink has been borne

to the ocean on the backs of men. During the Japanese war no provinces took any part in the conflict except Manchuria and Chihli. In addition to having no patriotism in the general, the Chinaman has no religion. The monkish orders are crowded with men, but the impelling motive to join them is not a religious sentiment, but only the desire to lead a lazy life. When an intelligent Chinese is asked why in Mongolia one member of every family is devoted to the Church, he will tell you that it is because there are too many labourers, and the supply would greatly exceed the demand were it not for the toleration of the monkish orders. Analogous to this idea, a distinguished gentleman once told me that the European powers were compelled to keep up great standing armies to provide support for the soldiers, so that the common people might be able to get employment. This is, perhaps, as sensible an argument as can be made against universal disarmament. I took some pains to find out in conversation with Chinese, who were not Christian converts, what their religious views were, and I never found one who had any religious belief whatever. I passed my

summers in a Buddhist temple, and, except a few formal observances, there were no religious exercises of any kind. The system of going to church does not exist except on rare fêtes, and these are converted into fairs where peddlers congregate in large numbers. The priests at my temple never fulfilled any religious function, except to beat a block of wood at sunset. They never visited the sick or interested themselves in the affairs of the people, and their lives were simply an unbroken series of eating and sleeping. I had long conversations with them, and strove strenuously to find out what their *raison d'être* was, and they did not make the least effort to show that they rendered any service whatever to humanity, but they uniformly protested that their work was exactly the same as that of the Christian missionaries, — so little did they know about it.

There are many temples in and around Peking, at some of which there are large numbers of monks. We could visit the most of them safely, and they were curious places, but at one in particular foreign life was not safe. It will be remembered that Henry Norman was

LAMA TEMPLE, PEKING

repeated. The worshipper who desires to find a shrine for his devotions cannot go amiss at Peking. He will find religious edifices devoted to the Greek, Latin, and Protestant churches, Islamism, Buddhism, Rationalism, ancestral worship, state worship, and temples dedicated to Confucius and other deified mortals, and many others devoted to popular idols. In the matter of religion the emperor is an "all round" man. He worships at Buddhist, Taoist, and Confucian temples, and once a year, as the high priest of his race, he offers a bullock as a sacrifice at the Temple of Heaven to the ideal and unknown god, Shangti. The subject of the religions of China will, however, be treated in a separate chapter.

One is surprised to find at Peking so few remains of artistic labour. There is a monument erected to the memory of a Teshu Lama, who came to Peking in 1773 with an escort of 1,500 men. He was met by the Emperor Kienlung, near the city of Si-ning, in Kansuh, and escorted to Peking. He died of smallpox November 12, 1780, and a white marble cenotaph was erected in his honour, but the body was sent back to Lhassa. The chief events

of the prelate's life are sculptured on the plinth. Among the incidents commemorated, one is an attack on the holy man by devils with spears, the tips of which in his presence turn to flowers, and another portrays him dying, while a lion standing by brushes his own tears away with his paw.

Almost the only other relics of great antiquity are the series of stone drums which are in the court of the Confucian temple. Williams describes them as having been discovered in the year 600 near the ancient capital of the Chan dynasty, and they have been in Peking since A. D. 1126. He says of these drums, "that they are irregularly shaped pillars from eighteen to thirty-five inches high, and about twenty-eight inches across. The inscriptions are much worn, but enough remains to show that they commemorate a great hunt of Suan Wang (B. C. 872) in the region where they were found."

Among relics of ancient art the Great Bell may be appropriately included. It is located at the Ta-chung Sz', or Bell Temple, about two miles north of Peking. It was cast in 1406 in the reign of Yungloh. It is said to

be the largest suspended bell in the world. It is fourteen feet high, thirty-four feet in circumference at the rim, and nine inches thick; the weight is 120,000 pounds avoirdupois. It has no tongue, but is struck by a heavy beam on the outside. Myriads of Chinese characters are chiselled on its inner and outer surface, consisting of extracts from Buddhist classics. Visitors amuse themselves by throwing money so that it will fall through the hole through which the tongue of the bell ought to be placed. If one succeeds in accomplishing this feat, then the legend is that whatever wish he breathes at the moment of throwing the coin will surely be accomplished. Many wishes are thus whispered, for, after all, we are all superstitious. It is said, of course, that the commonest wish expressed by young ladies on these occasions is for the coming of a sweetheart.

The summer palace at Yuen Ming Yuen was one of the marvels of the world for beauty and for the richness and value of its contents, but it was destroyed by the British and French troops in 1860. Foreigners were occasionally smuggled into its ruins. The temple of Con-

fucius is one of the most interesting places at Peking. It contains only one room eighty-four feet long, simple, naked, cheerless, which has no decorations except the eleven tablets devoted to Confucius and his ten disciples. The dust of centuries covers its floor. The roof is supported by wooden pillars forty feet high. The place is unkempt and dreary, but it is redolent with the savour of intellectual immortality. I speak elsewhere of the philosophy of Confucius.

In China all titles lapse after the fourth generation, but that of the Duke Confucius is unaffected by this law. The seventy-seventh lineal descendant of Confucius now enjoys all the honours and emoluments which were allotted to his great ancestor. It is agreeable to note that this descendant of the moral monitor of his race has recently taken a stand against the crime of binding the feet of female infants, and is assisting the anti-foot-binding society to secure a decree forbidding the infamous practice.

The Examination Hall is visited by all strangers. It consists of a congeries of small cells which will accommodate eleven thousand

students. These cells are each five feet nine inches deep by three feet eight inches wide. They contain no furniture but a plank, which fits in grooves in the wall, and is used as a table and a bed. They are arranged in rows of fifty-seven and sixty-three cells each on the sides of a great main passage. Between the rows of cells there is a space of three feet eight inches. Once within this enclosure the student is confined until the exercises are over. The system of competitive examinations is worthy of careful consideration. It has existed since A. D. 600. Historians agree that it has proved one of the bulwarks of China, and attribute to its influence some of the causes which have maintained Chinese institutions in their pristine vigour, while other Eastern governments have gone to decay. For instance, it is stated that the system begets loyalty to the throne, and in proof of that assertion it is said that during the great Taiping rebellion, in which twenty millions of persons lost their lives, not one of the literati was found arrayed against the government. The foundation of the system is that graduates are made expectant officials, and, when vacancies occur, they

are appointed to office, in which they remain during good behaviour.

The Observatory is visited by all foreigners. It is partly situated on the city wall. At the beginning, three hundred years ago, it was superintended by the Jesuit fathers who erected it, but for many years it has not been practically used. It contains many curious instruments whose names and uses are unknown. Louis XIV. contributed to its possessions an azimuth and a sidereal clock. Long ago a clepsydra, or water clock, such as is now in use at Canton, was kept in operation, but it is now disused. In connection with the Tung-wen university the government maintains an observatory operated by Mr. Russell, a distinguished astronomer, and astronomical work of modern style has transplanted the semi-astrology of yore. There are many other interesting places in Peking, as, for instance, the Temple of Heaven, into which foreigners were not admitted before the riots of 1900, but during the Boxer troubles a brigade of English troops camped in its enclosure.

There is the "Coal Hill," a high mound on which the last Ming emperor met his death,

and the Temples of the Sun, Earth, and Moon. At the beginning of our stay at Peking, we often rode over the beautiful marble bridge which spans the junction of the two lakes in the imperial city, but the empress closed up the avenue to it, and for many years it has not been open to the public.

Here and there in the city there are dagobas, high towers capped with burnished knobs of copper, and outside the walls there remain other towers which were used as places for signalling the news that the warlike Manchus had invaded peaceful China. All along the great wall at short intervals these towers were placed, and the coming of the enemy was signalled by lighting fires on their tops.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATIONS

UNDER the Chinese system the candidates for office are divided into three grades: "Budding geniuses," "promoted scholars," and those who are "ready for office." The examination for the first grade takes place in the chief city of each district or *hsien*; for the second, in the provincial capital; for the third, at Peking.

A fourth examination remains for those who aspire to the distinguished honour of a place in the Imperial Academy.

About two million persons are examined each year in China, and about two per cent. pass.

The successful students at the district examinations are exempt from corporal punishment, receive all possible social consideration,

and are regarded as superior beings. Once in three years they repair to the provincial capital for competition for the second degree. Ten thousand students usually enter the lists.

The "promoted scholars" of all China appear at Peking the succeeding Spring. Successful examination there is followed by appointment to an office, which is determined by lot. Another examination, as stated, follows for a position as a member of Hanlin College, and from these again a laureate is selected, by competitive tests, who is the model scholar of the Empire for the season.

There is no restriction as to the age of applicants. Many instances are known of persons of forty, fifty, sixty, seventy and even eighty years of age, attending the examinations.

This system is liable to objections from a Western point of view. It holds out the attainment of official position as the one object of life. In free countries, where so many laudable objects of ambition are offered to the people, wisdom and prudence would discourage a desire for office. It creates a special class devoted to the government, and subservient

to improper official influence. It takes from the laborious avocations of life vast numbers of men who become consumers instead of producers.

It is by no means a practical system. The examinations are not designed to test the fitness of the applicants for any class of office. They are mostly the same everywhere, and in their subjects are confined to disquisitions on Confucian philosophy, repetition of passages from the classics, ancient history of the dynasties, with occasional treatises on agriculture, poetry, war, and finance.

The examination fixes the status of the successful applicant. He becomes one of the literati, a class of people whose anti-foreign proclivities are well known.

The arguments which are usually advanced in favour of this system in China may be summarized under three heads: It serves the state as a safety-valve, providing a career for those ambitious spirits who might otherwise foment disturbances. It operates as a counterpoise to the power of an absolute monarch. It gives the government a hold on the edu-

cated gentry, and binds them to the support of existing institutions.

It will be acknowledged, I think, on a comparison of this system with civil service reform in Great Britain, and the United States, that exactly opposite ends are designed by the latter, except possibly the second purpose above stated.

In free countries frequent elections furnish a safety-valve for ambitious spirits ; there is no absolute monarch to be guarded against, and there is no purpose in increasing the governmental influence, because existing institutions are not in any danger. Party spirit is sufficiently rife in Great Britain and the United States, and requires no stimulant. Its zeal is now perhaps excessive. The appeal of patriotism is rather to the conscience of the voter than to faithfulness to party ties.

In Western countries examinations in the civil service tend directly to secure the independence of the citizen. He secures office not through personal abasement to great leaders, or favouritism, but as the result of merit. In China these competitive examinations, while

based on merit, build up a class entirely subservient to improper official influence.

The practical methods are also decidedly better with us than in China. The examinations there are at stated periods for often as many as 10,000 applicants at a time. They cover all over the Empire the same general subjects. Only abstract knowledge is considered. The subjects of examination have no reference to any particular class of office. The successful applicant may enter any branch of the civil service.

Under our system all this is changed. Each examination is practical and tests the fitness of the applicant for the special office service that he desires to enter, whether it be the customs, the Treasury, the Post-office Department, the patent office, or any other.

There is no good reason why great scholars should alone administer the government to the exclusion of the masses whose means, or opportunities, have not enabled them to become graduates of colleges.

Under our system, while high education is not a bar to success, it is not the only qualification, or sometimes the most important.

The civil service act of 1883 provides for an examination of the fitness of the applicant. He may be eminently fit for the discharge of many duties, and yet be comparatively unlearned in letters, history, or languages.

That the Chinese system encourages education must be admitted. So far it is better than no system.

It is plain that the Chinese themselves have seen the defects in the subjects of study and examination. They have lately given to the sciences a place in their curriculum, not obligatory, it is true, but open to candidates who are to receive appropriate recognition. This entering wedge of reform may enable the Chinese government to build up a perfect system on the good foundation which was laid many centuries ago.

Our system has been attacked as being a copy of the Chinese plan. But even this cursory comparison demonstrates that the objects and machinery of civil service reform are entirely different from the Chinese competitive examinations. The different governmental conditions of the two countries demand different treatments. Our aim is to guard

against the despotism of party; the Chinese rather seek to uphold the despotism of the emperor. Our aim is to fill the offices with independent men who are fit for the discharge of their duties. The Chinese desire to perpetuate an educated class, and do not seek individual fitness.

Herein lies one of their great troubles. It happens every day that distinguished scholars who know nothing of engineering science are sent to superintend the public works; civilians are put in charge of troops, or ships, and men are made judges who know nothing of the law.

Under a complete civil service system, like that of England or British India, and our own law, as far as it extends, such absurdities are impossible.

CHAPTER VII.

THE WORK OF THE DIPLOMATS

IN my day there was no court circle in China. There were no imperial balls, receptions, or dinners to attend. During the last years of my stay in China we saw the emperor once a year at an audience at the Chinese New Year. According to etiquette, visits were not exchanged between the members of the nobility or officials and foreigners — and no Chinese ladies, with two exceptions, the Marchioness Tseng and Madame Yu, ever appeared when foreigners were present. In the country one could be as friendly as he pleased with the Chinese grandees, but in the city social intercourse was tabooed. After I had visited Prince Kung at his temple, and he had returned the call at mine, and the princess had come to see my wife, and had afterward entertained her, and presents had been ex-

changed, and we were very friendly indeed, I asked the prince — who was the emperor's uncle, and the head of the Yamen — why we could not see each other socially in Peking. He said the empress disapproved of all social intercourse at the capital between foreigners and Chinese, but did not object to its informal exercise in the country.

It must always be remembered in considering the relations of foreigners to the people of the East, that the principle and practice of extraterritoriality exist in their borders. This system greatly modifies the duties of ministers to these countries. Under Title 47, Sections 4083 to 4130 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, we have now consular courts in China, Korea, Maskat, Morocco, Persia, Samoa, Siam, Tonga, Turkey, and Zanzibar. Until July 17, 1898, we had such courts in Japan. Of all the Eastern nations that ambitious empire is the only one which has thrown off the judicial yoke of the foreigner. In all the countries above enumerated the foreigner can be tried in no court save his own. The native courts have no jurisdiction over him, either civil or criminal. In the consular

courts there is no grand jury, and no petit jury. In some cases the consul calls in four or a lesser number of assessors to assist him, but their findings are not obligatory on the court. The jurisdiction conferred on the consular court is that of admiralty, equity, common law, and statutory. The system is defective in this particular, that the statutes of the United States do not cover all offences, but only those committed against the United States, which by no means include all crimes and misdemeanours. When the consul turns to the common law he finds some difficulties in his way, owing to the fact that under the United States practice there are no common law offences, but all crimes must be defined by statute. Still, necessarily, the consul makes use of the common law, that is, the practice and usage prevailing under like circumstances in the locality where justice is administered. As the common law is after all what the judges determine to be the law, the consuls get along pretty well, and offenders usually meet their just deserts. The Supreme Court has passed on every legal question that ingenuity can raise touching extraterritoriality, and has

uniformly sustained the consular jurisdiction. The leading case is *In re* Ross 140 U. S. 463 - 465, to which students are referred for further information.

Whatever advantages the American may lose by being deprived of a trial by jury in China, he is abundantly compensated for their loss by escaping the penalties of the Chinese system of jurisprudence. The rule of that system is that the accused must confess his guilt before he can be sentenced. When he is arraigned on a criminal charge and pleads not guilty, he is immediately subjected to torture. The Chinese judges study the case in advance of the trial, and when they conclude that the accused is guilty, as they generally do, they demand a confession of guilt, and they proceed to torture him until he does confess. The tortures inflicted are various. The accused may be beaten with the long bamboo, a rod more than an inch thick, and over two feet long. Hundreds of blows are sometimes inflicted on the bare back. Or he may be beaten with the small bamboo, an instrument somewhat like the sole of a boot with a loose flap attached to it, which is applied to the

head and face. Women are usually beaten with the small bamboo. Or he may be compelled to kneel down, and there is placed across the calves of his legs a heavy log of wood, on either end of which a man stands and works it up and down. This is said to be a terribly severe punishment, and sometimes results in the death of the victim. Other criminals are suspended on pillars by the queue, their feet barely touching the ground. When these tortures bring about, as they naturally do, a confession of guilt, a death-sentence is pronounced. The common mode of execution is decapitation. One may see at Canton a small lot on which pottery is made, but which is the "execution ground," where, during the Taiping rebellion, sixty thousand heads were cut off. When I saw this place in 1886, the executioner told me that he had not been long in office, and plaintively added that he had cut off only 250 heads.

The Ling Chi process is the most severe form of inflicting death. It consists in cutting off the various members of the body one by one, until the bleeding trunk only remains.

The impalement of the victim in a cage exposed to the sun is a form of punishment

sometimes adopted. In extraordinary cases there is boiling to death in oil, or sawing the body in pieces. In minor offences the prisoner is compelled to wear a cangue, or wooden collar, which goes over his neck, and has holes in it for his hands to pass through so that he is powerless to use them. Wearing this collar he is paraded all over the town.

It may be safely said that extraterritoriality will continue to exist until China shall reform her penal code, as Japan has done. I once recommended to the Department that a law should be enacted providing a code for use in all the foreign countries in which we exercised civil and criminal jurisdiction. Such a code would supply many deficiencies in the administration of the law in countries in which extraterritorial jurisdiction is permitted by treaty.

Under our system the minister in the countries enumerated becomes an Appellate Court, but he is removable at the pleasure of the Executive as the Territorial judges are. It will plainly be inferred from the foregoing statements that diplomacy in China is a very different thing from diplomacy in Western countries. Practically, the foreign minister

becomes an integral part of the government of the country. He and his subordinates, the consuls, control the actions of his nationals. He sees that the treaties are observed in their letter and spirit. He objects to decrees which antagonize them. It was the custom for the Yamen to lay before the diplomatic corps proposed changes in the laws of the country applying to foreigners, in order that before their promulgation it might know whether they would be assented to. Sometimes these new regulations were thrown out. The foreign minister sedulously watches any changes in the tariff which are likely to be injurious to his people. He announces to the Yamen that, if they conflict with the treaty, he will not be bound by them. In the matter of protecting his fellow citizens, of course, he is active and aggressive. In all cases where damage has been done he demands compensation, and he freely denounces all officials who fail in their duty toward foreigners. He endeavours to suppress abusive publications with which China teems; he recommends new facilities for trade and commerce; he insists on the removal of obstructions in the navigable rivers, notably at

Shanghai and Canton; he attacks monopolies granted, or proposed to be granted, to the representatives of other nations. In European countries his passport would be given him if he attempted to do a tithe of these things. A very common, but disagreeable, part of a minister's duty is to endeavour to secure grants, franchises or concessions, for the "promoters." These gentlemen constitute a great and influential class. They are usually men of society, who understand the art of dinner-giving and of "grafting." They are exceedingly plausible. Having fortified themselves with what the English call a "soup ticket," — that is to say, a general letter of introduction from the State Department — a practice now happily abolished, — and bearing a score of letters of introduction from distinguished citizens, the promoters have the minister at their mercy. There is absolutely no escape from compliance with their demands. Behind them stand the great newspapers, which are always panting for an opportunity to publish a sensational item about men in high office.

It is easy to charge that a minister is stingy, or that he is "aping royalty" by his ex-

penditure; that he drinks too much, or makes himself ridiculous by not drinking at all; that he is too fond of the fair sex, or he is a perfect boor; that he neglects his countrymen, or is too friendly to the missionaries.

The better plan therefore is to pitch in energetically to secure the building of a railroad a thousand miles long, or the purchase by China of a half-dozen war-ships, or the sale to China of a dynamite gun, or the establishment of a national post-office, or banking system, or the dredging of the Yellow River or some other stream, or the loan of five hundred millions of taels to China under a plan by which she will pay the debt in a few years, and will still have the originally borrowed sum in her coffers. These gentlemen promoters also often present essays on moral improvement. The corruption of the Chinese government is deplored by these gentlemen, and they righteously enjoin that adequate salaries be paid, "squeezing" be abolished, and only honest contracts be made. It does not require much acumen to see that the promoter will gain nothing by attacking the identical vices whose practice constitutes for the Chinese the

only inducement to make any contract whatever. Nevertheless, this course is sometimes pursued by the promoter, who afterward wonders why his proposition remains unacted upon. According to this theory the way to secure a contract in England would be to attack the king, the House of Lords, and primogeniture.

In the scramble for concessions during the latter years of my stay in China my compatriots were successful to the extent that the China Development Company, which was started by Senator Brice, secured the right to build a railroad from Hankow to Canton. This road is 750 miles long. It forms a link in the lines of railways from Moscow to Hongkong. As I write passengers can go from Moscow to Peking in eighteen days; they will soon be able to go from Peking to Hankow by rail, and thence over the American road to Canton. It will be by all odds the longest line of railway transportation in the world.

It must be said that the European powers do not leave the matter of acquisition of grants and privileges to the discretion of their

representatives, but they, themselves, dictate the lines on which demands shall be made, the adoption whereof is controlled by an ulterior policy. Thus the policy of Russia for many years has looked to the acquisition of the right to build a railroad through Manchuria to the open sea. Germany contemplated for a long time the procurement of a piece of territory in China, and finally took advantage of the fact that two German missionaries were murdered by a mob in Shantung, to seize a portion of that province. Recently England demanded, and received, the exclusive right to land a cable in China, — a proposition which is disputed and denounced by this country. France insists that the southern provinces lie in her exclusive sphere of influence, and she is pushing a railroad from Tonquin into the country bordered by the West River. Little Belgium goes in for any industrial work, and an Italian has secured valuable mining privileges.

Owing to the fact that it generally requires four months to write to the Department, and receive an answer, the minister is often compelled to act on his own judgment, and to take the chances of his action being disapproved by

his superiors. Queer controversies often spring up, and give rise to serious contests. It must be said that in the general the various religious denominations get along pretty well with one another, but there is more or less rivalry between the sects, with their charges of proselytizing.

This rivalry develops itself chiefly between Protestants and Catholics, who hate each other in China just as much as they do in Europe and America. A curious case happened in the province of Shantung. A number of poor people, who were under the control of our missionaries of the Methodist denomination, wished to build a chapel. A subscription paper was circulated, and one individual subscribed a liberal amount. A lot was bought, and the chapel was built, and, after the congregation had worshipped in it for a considerable time, the individual mentioned was turned out of the church for immorality. He at once became a Catholic. His next step was to declare that the lot on which the chapel stood belonged to him, and he donated it to the Catholics, who demanded possession. One can imagine the terrible row to which this

proceeding led. The American minister was gravely assured that the whole future of the Protestants in Shantung rested on the retention of this property. The French Legation, being appealed to by the Catholics, took a very active part in the contention. The priest came to Peking, and the discussion before the Yamen was hot and heavy. The American minister represented to the Yamen that in no civilized land could a man subscribe money to buy a lot for church or other uses, and induce other people to invest their money in the enterprise, and then, after the lot was bought, claim title in it himself. The doctrine of estoppel prevails in such cases. The Yamen was evidently of the same opinion, because their whole judicial system is based on equity, but they were afraid of the French, and refused to intervene. The American minister then demanded that the matter be left to the courts. This was done, and there was a trial, followed by an appeal to a higher tribunal. The viceroy finally sent two commissioners to the locality to settle the controversy, and they reported in favour of the viceroy paying the original congregation the value of the build-

ing on the lot in dispute, and donating to the congregation another lot on which to build a chapel. These terms were accepted, and thus ended a controversy which threatened the inauguration of civil war.

Some years ago, near Swatow, in Southern China, actual warfare broke out between the Catholics and Protestants, and one man was killed. It was exceedingly curious that the facts concerning this outbreak were never thoroughly determined. Each side contended that adherents of the other side had gone to its chapel with hostile intent, and undertaken to break in, whereupon a riot ensued, which resulted in the death of one of the assailants. On both sides the statements so made were supported by numerous affidavits. The American missionaries on one side, and the Catholic priests on the other, vigorously supported their respective adherents. Some years afterward it was discovered, however, that the Catholics, and not the Protestants, were telling the truth, and that the latter had attacked the chapel of the former. When this discovery was made the Protestant missionaries were greatly chagrined at the deception

practised on them, and, acting under advice given me while I was commissioner at Manila, they promptly paid to the family of the murdered man an adequate sum of money as damages. Money settles everything in China.

When the adherents of the new religion get to fighting or quarrelling, the Chinese authorities are exceedingly embarrassed. They are inclined to keep hands off, because they know that, whatever result, they will be blamed.

Another remarkable case occurred in 1896 in a town on the Yang-tse. A scoundrel whom the American missionaries had offended sought revenge by burying the body of a dead child in their compound. He then accused the missionaries of kidnapping and killing the child, and he led a party of men to the place where he had buried the body. Immediately a terrible riot arose, and the missionaries had to flee for their lives, and all their property was destroyed. After things had quieted down, a legal investigation was held, at which it conclusively appeared that the man himself had buried the body in the missionary compound for the purpose of inciting violence against its

occupants. The man was condemned to death, and was executed, although the missionaries tried at the last to have the sentence of death commuted.

The minister in China may be said to be the Executive, Congress, and Attorney-General combined into one department. He is expected as Attorney-General to advocate any and all schemes invented by his countrymen. He is bound to assume that in all cases his countrymen are in the right, and the Chinese are in the wrong. It is considered a very strong proof of mental weakness, or moral obliquity, if the minister dares to look into the right or the wrong of any question which is alleged to involve the substantial rights of his countrymen. It sometimes does happen, however, that claims presented by Americans are not in all respects exactly just. In such cases decent self-respect demands that they be not presented. Then let the minister look out for storms! He can always take advantage of the rule that claims shall be referred to the Department, which is much more independent than he is, because it is much farther removed from the scene of action. In one case, the

items of damage growing out of a riot struck me as inadmissible. I referred the matter to the Department. In the meantime, however, I concluded that, though the particular items pointed out to the Department were objectionable, the claimants were honestly and in good faith entitled to the gross sum claimed by them. I, therefore, without furnishing any bill of particulars, demanded of the Yamen the payment of the whole amount claimed. They demurred a little, and asked for a bill of particulars, which I refused to furnish. I said to them, "Your people hunted these missionaries like rats, they burned all their property, except what they stole. My people saved their lives with great difficulty. It is ridiculous to talk about the amount of damages claimed." I explained that we were entitled to not only compensatory, but vindictive, or punitory damages. They then said that they would pay the bill if I gave them a receipt in full, which I agreed to do. When I reported to the missionaries that their money was ready for them, they wired that they had made a mistake, and their demand should be increased Taels 4,000. I promptly answered that

they had better take what had already been allowed, because the Department had decided that some of their items were objectionable. This ended the matter. As the money had been collected the Department passed mildly over the inconsistency of appealing for its decision and then doing the work without waiting for its directions.

Inconceivably small cases, as well as very important ones, come before the minister. For instance, a missionary at Peking owned a water-cart, which was propelled by a coolie. On one occasion the coolie left the cart in the street while he carried a bucket of water into the compound, and during his absence the cart was stolen. The missionary demanded that the police department should find and restore his cart, and, as they did not do so, he demanded of the nearest magistrate eight taels compensation for the loss of it. The magistrate refused to pay anything on the ground that China was not responsible for losses by larceny. Possibly this construction of the treaties might be sustained, but it occurred to me that it would serve a good public purpose to enforce the liability in this case, whereby

larceny from foreigners might be discouraged. I, therefore, insisted that damages should be paid, and no other case of larceny was ever reported to me.

One other case will illustrate the general policy which I followed in China, which, in brief, was to compel the Chinese in small, as well as great matters, to live up to the spirit of the treaties which prescribe due protection to foreigners.

At the city of Chinkiang, an American missionary hired a cart to go on a short journey. He had not gone far before a couple of soldiers ordered him to give up the cart to them, and they made him get out. He promptly applied to the consul for redress, demanding one hundred Mexican dollars for damages. The consul was unable to see that the government was liable in this case, and declined to intervene — whereupon the claimant presented his demand to me. It seemed to me that public policy required that the local authorities should be held liable for the wrongful acts of government employés, such as soldiers, and I instructed the consul to present the claim to the nearest magistrate.

This was done. Without urging any objection the magistrate ordered the money paid, and the result was beneficial to public tranquillity.

Between the limits of such trivial matters as these, and the preparation of new treaties, or the making of peace between China and Japan, or the watching and reporting the schemes of the great powers concerning the partition of China, the interval is vast, but the minister must traverse the whole distance. Every now and then he will, also, have a judicial case to determine, and he will settle the law which may involve human life or the most important civil interests. It thus happens that, except the Embassy to England, that of China is, and has been, the most important of all our foreign missions. A canvass of the names of the distinguished men who have served, either as commissioners or ministers to China, will bear out the assertion that our government has appreciated that fact. First in the list comes Caleb Cushing, commissioner, who made the first treaty, that of 1842. It is conceded, I believe, that America has produced no brighter intellect or more accomplished scholar than

Caleb Cushing. John W. Davis, Humphrey Marshall, and Robert M. McClane succeeded Cushing as commissioners, and were all distinguished men. Anson Burlingame followed as minister, and so discharged his duties that China appointed him as its plenipotentiary to all of Europe and America. He died, unfortunately, before his great work was done. In the long list that succeeds come the names of John E. Ward, Alexander H. Everett, William B. Reed, Frederick W. Seward, James B. Angell (now president of Michigan University), Governor Lowe of California, John Russell Young, and my own successor, Hon. Edwin H. Conger, who was at Peking during the riots of 1900 and who has made a splendid reputation in the discharge of his duties. Except the legation at London, no other presents such a galaxy of prudent, wise, industrious, able diplomatists. In addition there was the great Dr. S. S. Williams, many times chargé d'affaires, as was also Mr. Chester Holcombe, who is a very able man. These men have built up our prestige in the Orient. From their labours we have reaped a great and growing commerce. We have kept the peace with

China. We have been, and are, the most beloved by the Chinese of all nations, and we are as much respected by the foreigners as is any great European power.

CHAPTER VIII.

BANKS AND BANKING

THE Chinese are noted bankers and traders. By the common consent of all the boards of trade and all the merchants in every commercial centre, the leading Chinese merchant ranks with the most honest of his class in London, New York, Paris, Berlin, or anywhere else. Mr. Cameron, who is now the head of the great Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation at London, was formerly for many years the manager of the branch of that institution at Shanghai. At a complimentary dinner given to him before he left Shanghai, he said, among other things, that the bank had had dealings of hundreds of millions of pounds sterling with the Chinese, and had never lost a penny. As slightly qualifying this commendation, it must be said that in China the relatives of a debtor, all of his clan,

are held responsible for what he owes, and they may be by law compelled to pay the claims against him. It must be said that in the entire conduct of his business the great Chinese merchant is straightforward, consistent, and honest. He stands by his word. He does not invoke technicalities to avoid liability. He has but one price for his wares. He fulfils his obligations whether the market falls or rises. He holds himself responsible to the highest code of commercial honour. The result of this national reputation is that the Chinese is employed everywhere in the marts of trade. At the chief hotels and banks in Japan you will always find Chinese.

The Chinese is the oldest banker in the world. He invented the bill of exchange. He will furnish you with a letter of credit which will be honoured in any town in China. Mr. William Barclay Parsons, the distinguished engineer who surveyed the line of railroad from Hankow to Canton, through a country which had never been traversed by a foreigner, tells us that, provided with a letter of credit from a Chinese bank, he procured money wherever he wanted it on his journey. I know that

the discussion of monetary systems is tedious to the general reader, but the peculiarities of the Chinese system at least should be pointed out. The foreigner in China may keep his accounts either in silver dollars, or taels, in several foreign banks. Of them the principal are the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, the Russo-Chinese Bank, the Specie Bank of Yokohama, the East India and Australia Bank. Besides these there are great numbers of Chinese banks. There were said to be four hundred at Peking. There is an exchange there, at which the prices of metals are fixed, and the quotations are carried by carrier-pigeons all over the city. There is, also, a clearing-house, which is operated on simple but effective lines. Each depositor receives from his banker a book with two columns, in one of which will be entered his deposits, and in the other to his debit all the sums he may disburse. He then sends all his creditors to his banker to be paid, and in the evening he sends his book to the bank. The next morning the clerks of the various banks get together, and indicate in the books the various sums they are to disburse, or to receive, for

their patrons. The balances are paid in cash, or are left to stand over on interest until the end of the year. It is said that the banks assist each other in case of difficulty, and that they extend the time of payment to any solvent bank requiring it.

The peculiarities of the currency furnish a fine field for the banks to pick up emoluments in discounting the various moneys that pass through their hands. Nobody but an expert can tread the devious path which leads from the transfer of the gold dollar into pounds, from pounds into taels, and from taels into Mexicans. Usually the tael is worth $1.40 Mexican. What it is now worth in gold does not much matter, because it will change to-morrow. During the greater part of my time in China it was seventy-seven gold cents, but it has fallen, and is still falling. It may reach twenty-five cents in value, which would be distressing for foreign trade.

Of course it is reasonable to expect that as old a country as China is has tried every form of money. In 2600 B. C., under the reign of Huang-Ti, iron money was coined. I have often picked up pieces of this money on the

city wall. The universal coin now is a copper piece called *chien* by the Chinese, and cash by the foreigners. The cash, lump silver, the Mexican dollar, and recently silver coins introduced from Hongkong, or coined at various places in China, constitute the currency of the country. The tael is simply a weight of silver. Silver is cast into pieces of ten taels in value, bearing some resemblance to a Chinese shoe, being a lump hollowed out in the centre, and raised at the sides and ends. Large pieces of fifty taels are almost the exact shape of a shoe. Gold bullion is cast into bars like cakes of India ink. In the early days of foreign trade, the Mexican dollar was punched with holes, as it used to be, also, in our Western States. In those days the Mexican dollar was worth one dollar and a half in gold, but since "the crime of 1873," it has fallen to thirty-three cents. Ordinarily the Mexican is stamped by the comprador, and it is then called a "chopped" dollar. The monetary system as affecting silver is arranged on the principle of weight, and the computation is decimal, the divisions being taels, mace, candareen, and cash, — all uncoined, but the cash is cast.

Each cash should weigh fifty-eight grains Troy, or 3.78 grams, but in various localities there is smaller cash in circulation, and the rate of exchange varies from 500 to 1,800 for a silver dollar. The Peking cash passes five for a silver cent. Taking into consideration the poverty of the people, the smallest possible subdivision of coin was necessary.

Another peculiarity of Chinese finance is that there is a great number of taels. In Peking there were no less than five, all differing from each other in value. The best, on account of weight and colour, is the Hai Kuan, in which the customs duties are collected. Every important town has two or more taels, and one has to specify in what tael debts are to be paid, because there may be a difference of one or two per cent. between the varieties.

At this time there is no government bank in China. Some centuries ago the emperor issued irredeemable paper money. Marco Polo commends the system, because, he says, the emperor owned all the property in the Empire, and it cost him nothing. Still it brought on a rebellion which overthrew the reigning dynasty. Five hundred years B. C. government

bills, which were utterly wort : forced into circulation, but since 1455 no such bills have been issued, except in 1858 during the Taiping rebellion. Peking banks issue notes as low as ten cents, and a great business is done by brokers in exchanging cash for them. The business of the s to discount paper, to negotiate bills of excl nge, to loan money on land or personal property, and to buy and sell the precious metals. There is no government limit to their establishment. Interest is generally paid on fixed deposits. The foreign banks usually pay five per cent. per annum, sometimes four.

The Chinese are not as strict as other people in demanding immediate payment of obligations. A debtor, being solvent, is allowed time in which to raise money. Usually in China all debts must be settled, especially at the Chinese New Year, but also at the fifth and eighth moon festivals. It is accounted disgraceful not to pay one's debts at these periods.

From all that has been written, it will appear that there is no financial confusion existing in any country which is greater than that which exists in China. That immense benefits

would accrue to the government from a good system in the collection, distribution, and remittance of revenues is patent to all observers.

The first thing that progressive little Japan did, when she entered on her marvellous career of progress, was to provide a uniform and stable currency. She summoned our own fellow citizen, General George Williams, to this task, and he performed it with ability. A system of banks was devised which has perfectly served the desired purpose. A national banking system similar to our own would work order out of chaos in China. The great foreign banks that I have elsewhere mentioned now do the bulk of the financial business, and reap its enormous profits. Some great American should enter the lists to reform the currency of China. He will find in it a field worthy of all his ability and industry.

CHAPTER IX.

THE IMPERIAL CUSTOMS SERVICE

THE Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs Service is the one happy result of a hideous civil strife which threatened the throne of China. It is the lily sprung from the abysmal mire of the Taiping rebellion. It is probably a unique creation in the history of the world.

It is strange indeed to find in a country so intensely anti-foreign a foreign service such as I am about to describe maintained and cherished during half a century. The explanation is simple. The customs service, upon its foundation, made instant plea for continuance. It at once returned more revenue to the government than had ever been returned before from the same sources under similar conditions. Pride and prejudice were but sentiments; here was value. The service has been wisely preserved from that day to this.

In 1853 the native city of Shanghai fell into the hands of the Taiping rebels, then on their devastating march to Peking. With the loss of control by the imperial government, the native customs establishment ceased to exist. A condition of chaos ensued. Duties were not collected, nor vessels properly cleared. Shanghai became a free port in the sense that many cargoes were landed and shipped on which, it is said, no charges of any kind were imposed, entirely contrary, of course, to the provisions of existing treaties. The three treaty consuls, English, French, and American, sought to relieve the condition by trying to collect from the merchants promissory notes for the full duties, to be held in trust and later turned over to the native officials. The system failed. In February, 1854, the native customhouse was reëstablished, but again suspended in April of the same year.

At this time, the provincial authorities adopted the suggestion of Mr. Rutherford Alcock, for the appointment of a foreign customs board of three members, one to be recommended by each treaty consul. Mr. Alcock was the British consul at Shanghai. He was

one of the group of great Englishmen conspicuous in this period of China's international history. He later became Sir Rutherford Alcock, British Minister. In his memorandum on the subject of foreign customs supervision, he said that, "the sole issue out of the difficulties by which the whole subject is beset under existing treaties is to be sought in the combination of a foreign element of probity and vigilance with Chinese authority." The chief difficulty to which he referred was the laxity of the native official character, which made it easy for favoured foreign merchants, by bribery, to secure immunity from government charges at the expense of competitors, and tended to utterly derange trade. Mr. Alcock's phrase exactly describes the key-note of the foreign customs polity.

The board of three was appointed, but soon merged into one inspector-general, who had supervision over the several establishments which the provincial authorities had, with eager acquiescence, consented to the placing at South China ports. The first inspector-general was Mr. H. N. Lay. Mr. Lay became involved in a bitter dispute with the govern-

ment over the nature and extent of his powers in connection with the purchase in England of the Lay-Osborne flotilla of war-vessels. In 1863 Mr. Robert Hart, an interpreter in the British consular service, took his place.

From that day to this Sir Robert Hart has been the benevolent despot at the head of the great service which has been at once the most potent civilizing agency in the Empire, and upon more than one occasion the strongest prop of a tottering dynasty. He has directed its growth from the "consul's bantling" to the powerful governmental agency of to-day. He has gently and tactfully, but with masterful skill, broadened the scope of the service until, from the mere creation of expediency, the revenue-collecting convenience of a few ports, it has so grown that its functions now reach every portion of the Empire, from the head waters of the Yang-tse to the sea, from Siberia to the Burmese border. It lights and patrols the coast, it collects the revenue, it educates interpreters for the legations abroad, it is in charge of the imperial post. The service is so constructed that no function of government can come amiss to it, and with

signal ability Sir Robert Hart has been able to respond to every call from his imperial employers. With great care the policy of national representation in the service proportionate to the volume of trade has been adhered to. So there are more English than Americans, more Americans than French, but in almost every department of the service each of the nations trading with China has representation large or small. While the service is thus cosmopolitan, however, it is essentially English in tone. English is the language of the service, as it is generally among foreigners in the Far East, and the English element greatly preponderates.

I do not know how many foreigners are now employed in the various branches of the customs service, but the number is certainly well over one thousand, besides many thousands of natives. Each of the foreigners may be said to be the personal selection of the inspector-general, and over them all he is the absolute chief. He is accountable only to his employer, the government, through the foreign office, which never interferes with the internal administration of the service.

CHAPTER X.

AGRICULTURE

THE great extent of the area of China, — about five million square miles, — its enormous population, — four hundred million, — its vast antiquity, and the unbroken continuity of its history lend a peculiar interest to the consideration of an art on which all human life depends — agriculture. Living during the summer months at the Western Hills, twelve miles from Peking, we became familiar with the country people, their habits and customs, and their system of agriculture.

Vast as the population is, there are still immense tracts of vacant land in Manchuria, Mongolia, Ili, Tibet, and the vicinage of the Yellow River. The reason, however, why these lands are untilled is, no doubt, the want of transportation. This deficiency is now being supplied by the construction of numerous rail-

roads, and when they are completed, and the products of the soil can be taken to a market, there will be an exodus from the overcrowded cities, and prosperity will begin to dawn for a starving people. In our own country we may trace the progress of agriculture from the hoe to the steam-thresher. We know its beginning and its progress, until it has made all the arts subsidiary to its uses, and every science its handmaiden. According to the Chinese accounts agriculture was not gradually developed from its rude beginnings, but has a certain definiteness of origin. It was the invention of the Emperor Shin Nung, who, succeeding Fuh-hi, the first Emperor of China, ascended the throne 2737 years B. C. It was he who "first fashioned timber into ploughs, and taught the people the art of husbandry." He also discovered the medicinal virtue of herbs, and instituted the custom of holding periodical markets for the barter of commodities. Whatever basis of truth this tradition may lack, it seems to prove one thing, namely, that the art in the form in which it is practised to-day antedates all recorded history. In the United States we may point to such and

such an implement, or method, as having originated at such and such a date. We know when the cotton-gin was invented, when steam was first applied to the plough, when the first thresher cut and threshed the grain at the same moment. In China no such progress is discernible. The grain is cut with the sickle. There are gleaners now, as there were in the days of Ruth and Boaz. When the sickles have finished their work, many a poor woman and child gather up the scanty detritus. Agriculture to-day in China is what it was millenniums ago, and what it would always have remained had the foreigner not come with his strange inventions. There can be no doubt that it will change in accordance with foreign demands. China is a white man's country. Only a portion of it in the extreme south is oppressed by tropic heat. The northern half is going to be one of the most productive parts of the world. The Chinese have always been an agricultural people. They never have been warlike. They rank soldiers among the lowest classes. Agriculturists and scholars constitute the aristocracy. The emperors, whether native, Mongol, or Manchu, have always encour-

aged agriculture, and have recognized the devotion of its labourers as the greatest safeguard of the throne. From time immemorial agriculture has been honoured and dignified by imperial observances. At the temple dedicated to the Earth, there are four altars, to the gods of the Heavens, the Earth, the planet Jupiter, and Shin Nung, the supposed inventor of agriculture, respectively. Here, at the vernal equinox, the emperor with his own hands holds the plough and turns a furrow in the field. The imperial portion so ploughed is not touched by any other person. District magistrates and prefects follow his example. Sacrifices are then offered to the divinities, and, with the prayers presented, are burnt in furnaces. Thus the father of his people consecrates agriculture.

Many books have been published on agricultural subjects. In the year 1600 Sü Kwang-ki prepared an "Encyclopedia of Agriculture." It must be recognized, however, that the people owe little to instruction, or science, or machinery. Their untiring industry is the chief element which makes their cultivated country a garden. Indeed, seen

from an eminence, the country around Peking looks like an immense checker-board. The Chinese are gardeners rather than agriculturists. They watch over their crops with the most constant care. They gather them by hand, and, when the gleaners have finished, not a straw, or root, or leaf is left behind. Often I have watched them spread their grain out over a smooth, hard-beaten earth floor in the open air, and thresh it either with flails, or by rolling over it a stone drawn by a donkey. When a breeze comes, the grain is tossed in the air, the kernels falling straight, and the chaff and dust being blown away. In the use of manure and in irrigation the Chinese are very proficient. Manure is gathered from all conceivable sources. In the cities all the night-soil is taken from the houses, gathered from the streets and alleys, mixed with clay, and dried in the sun, and is then sold to farmers. On country roads where horses, mules, and camels pass, numerous men, boys, and girls gather up the material to spread on the fields. Earth from canals, rivers, and streets is carted away for the same purpose. "Other substances are diligently collected," says Will-

iams, "such as hair from the barber shops, exploded firecrackers, sweepings from the streets, lime and plaster from kitchens and old buildings, soot, bones, and animal remains." In this occupation tens of thousands of people make a living. In irrigating his land, the farmer uses many devices. He directs running water, if it is procurable, over his land into large channels. These are banked in with clay and subdivided into small streamlets until all the land has been reached. If there is no running water, a well is dug, and the water drawn up by hand and poured into the main ditches, from which small ditches branch out. Sometimes holes are dug in which rain-water accumulates.

I noticed some curious things at the hills. At times the ravines would be as dry as a bone. Then in July and August great rains came, and at the chief outlet, where several ravines came together, one could swim a horse. I have often seen the torrent of water in some of these ravines bear along for considerable distances great stones weighing hundreds of pounds. Once I saw the stream force from its place a large stone imbedded in a bridge, and

carry it a half-dozen yards on the approach to the bridge. Immediately after these rains, the frogs commence croaking, and the boys go fishing in the holes left by the streams. I have seen dozens of fish caught in this manner. The villagers dam up some of the canals formed by roads which have cut out the soil, and catch fish of a good size. Let the naturalist tell us where these fish come from almost in the twinkling of an eye. I simply state the facts under my own observation.

Chinese agricultural instruments are of the rudest character. They comprise the hoe, the harrow, the rake, and the stone roller. The plough is simply a broad blade fastened to a rough handle, guided by a man, and drawn by teams of the most miscellaneous description. I have seen teams made up of horses, mules, donkeys, men and boys, and, rarely, women. Sometimes there will be four men by themselves, sometimes a donkey and two men, or a bullock and a donkey, or two horses drawing a plough. The furrow so cut is never more than six inches deep, and often only two or three. The Chinese farmers measure the depth of the furrows by the fingers, and frequently

speak of ploughing only two or three fingers deep. The most effective tool is the hoe, and with this the main work in raising a crop is done after the grain has sprouted.

During my stay in Peking I received many letters from the makers of agricultural implements, who desired to introduce their wares. I was obliged to advise them that the Chinese were too poor to purchase foreign implements. There are no great stores devoted to their sale. Of course American ploughs would be a great improvement on Chinese ploughs, but these latter cost only two or three Mexican dollars, and smaller tools in proportion. Implements are made by hand, and in the summer it is very common to see travelling bands of iron-workers, who traverse the country and make, or repair, tools. Blacksmiths are to be found in all villages.

The manufacturers of carriages in the United States were quite insistent with their inquiries as to the prospects of trade in their line. It was sad to be compelled to answer that there was not a buggy in China, except in some of the foreign concessions, and not a road on which one could live an hour. Road-

making is almost an unknown art. Caravans of camels, donkeys, horses, and mules require only a path. Carts and wagons are much used in Northern China, but they are constructed to suit the condition of the roads, and are noticeable only for the breadth and heaviness of their wheels. In the south there are no roads and no vehicles.

The principal crops in North China, besides the fruits and vegetables, of which there are almost all that are found in Western countries, are wheat, barley, buckwheat, numerous varieties of millet, beans, Indian corn, sesamum, hemp, rice, cotton, kowleong, some tobacco, and opium. Wheat in North China is planted in two crops, known as autumn and spring wheat. The yield per Chinese mou — 6.61 mou make an English acre — is estimated in a good year at one tan, that is, about 240 pounds a mou, or 1,700 pounds per English acre. It is carefully sown in furrows about eighteen inches apart, leaving room between them for hoeing. About 120 pounds to an English acre are used for sowing. The price of wheat at Peking varies every day, as in other countries, according to supply and de-

mand. It is fixed by ers who are under official supervision, a l who arrange sales and measure out the g n, receiving a small commission. Barley is planted about the time of the spring equinox, and harvested at the summer solstice. It is used as a substitute for rice. Mixed with a kind of pea grown in North China, — the wenton, resembling the marrowfat pea, — it makes a ferment for wine. Barley is worth about 2.7 taels per tan when husked. The tael in my time was worth $1.40 Mexican, or seventy-seven cents of our money, but recently it has declined one-fourth in value.

Buckwheat, called by the Chinese "triangular rice," is sown during the thirty days following the summer solstice, and harvested early in October. It produces about one and one-half tan per mou, and is usually worth 1.5 taels per tan.

Millet enters largely into consumption as food. The common people cannot afford to eat rice, and live on millet. There are several varieties of it; one produces a red grain, and another a white. The former is used as feed for animals; the latter is ground into flour for human consumption.

Indian corn is sown in furrows. It is made into meal, and is largely used as a food. Yellow, white, green, and black beans are grown. They are used to produce oil, to make vermicelli, and soy, a kind of pickle, for stuffing cakes, as a ferment for wine, and to feed to horses and camels. Sesamum is raised solely for the oil extracted from it, which is used in cooking and sometimes for illuminating purposes. Rice is raised nearly all over China proper. The grain is first soaked, and, when it begins to swell, is sown very thickly in a small plot containing liquid manure. The shoots when they are six inches high are planted in the rice paddies. Six men can transplant two acres a day.

Kowleong is largely planted in North China. It resembles sorghum. It has no ear but a bunch of seed at the top, which is mixed with straw for the food of animals. The stalks, which are twenty feet high, are used for roofing houses and for fuel.

Cotton is one of the great staples of Middle and Southern China, and I have seen fields of it near Peking. If cotton-mills and their products are not taxed too high, China will become

a great manufacturing country. She has cheap money, cheap labour, and the raw material. Already there are six cotton mills at Shanghai. As the ordinary wear of the Chinese is cotton cloth, immense quantities of it are used, and it will be a long time before the native mills can supply the demand. A great deal of cotton — about one-thirteenth of all that goes to China — goes to Manchuria. It is manufactured by the South Carolina and Alabama mills. It is coarse cloth, exactly what the people in a cold climate require. England sends thinner cloth to the south, and almost monopolizes the market. The granting of the right to foreigners to manufacture in China was fought for many years by the government. It was only after the Japanese war that manufacturing could be freely carried on. We argued this question with the Yamen for some years during my stay in China. It was doubtful whether the right was granted in the treaties, our chief reliance being on the French treaty, which authorized the carrying on of works of "industrie." However, the Gordian knot was cut by arms, and now the right to manufacture is conceded. Tobacco was intro-

duced into China from Luzon about A. D. 1550. It had to run the gauntlet of antagonistic imperial decrees in China, just as its use was denounced in England. Almost everybody in China smokes, using pipes or cigarettes. Behind a mandarin at a dinner stands a servant, who empties and fills his pipe every minute or two. The ashes are emptied on the floor. There are no duties on tobacco, and Manila supplies most of the demand for cigars. Prices have risen since the American occupation of the Philippines, but before that one could buy a very fine cigar for six silver cents, equal to three of our money. In the matter of tobacco comes, in order of excellence, the Cuban, then the American, then the Philippine, and lastly the Chinese. Tobacco grows in all the tropical countries of Asia and America. Burma produces a black, tasteless cigar, a good deal like the Porto Rican. Chinese tobacco is much milder than any other variety.

Tea is raised between the twenty-third and thirty-fifth parallels of latitude. The best soil for it is friable, light-coloured, and porous, with a fair proportion of sand, and a superabundance of decaying matter on the surface.

A hot and moist climate suits it. The earliest accounts of the cultivation of tea date back to A. D. 350. The plant seldom exceeds three feet in height. Plantations are usually found on slopes, or at the foot of hills where drainage and moisture are easily produced. The tea flower is small, single, and white. The seeds are three small nuts with valves between them, and are enclosed in a triangular shell which splits open when ripe. In October the nuts are put in a mixture of damp sand and earth. In March they are sown in a nursery. A year after, the shoots are transplanted, being put in rows about four feet apart. When the shrub is three years old, the leaf is plucked, and the picking continues until the eighth year. The first picking consists of the young leaves. It is named "pecoe," or white down. The derivations of some other names are the following: Hyson comes from yu-tsin, "before the rain"; another romantic derivation is that it comes from the name of a young maiden who introduced some improvements in curing tea. Souchong means small or rare variety. Congou means work, or worked, from being well

worked. Bohea is the name of hills in Fuh-kien. Oo-long is the black dragon.

The second plucking takes place from May 15th to June. The plant is then in full leaf. The women and children do the picking, and receive six or eight cents silver per day. The leaves are cured by various processes of drying and roasting over a fire. Green tea and black tea are made from the same leaf, the difference being that the black tea is subjected to a process of fermentation, while the green tea is not. There are machines for curing tea in Formosa, at Hankow, and, perhaps, at other places.

The Russians transport immense quantities of tea overland on camel-back from Tung-chow. As sea air injures the quality of tea, this land carriage is less injurious to it. The Chinese use a large cup for making tea. In this sufficient leaves are thrown to make one cup, and a saucer covers it. Tea is scented by throwing over the leaves, as they roast, roses, tuberoses, orange-flowers, jasmines, and other varieties. I was once presented with some tea which was valued at forty dollars Mexican per pound.

A great deal of tea is raised in Formosa, and nearly all of it goes to the United States; in actual figures, seventeen million pounds annually. China teas meet with much competition from India and Ceylon teas. Some efforts have been made in China to improve the culture and curing of tea, but they have had insignificant results. The government has been often petitioned to take off the export tax which burdens tea, but it has not consented to do so. Unless China takes some measures to improve her teas, and to reduce taxation, she will eventually lose this great trade.

In Mongolia tea in the shape of bricks, called "brick tea," is largely used, and passes current as money. All the refuse of tea is pressed into cakes having the appearance of cakes of chocolate. These cakes are conveniently portable, and readily broken up, so as to be used or passed from hand to hand.

China takes its name from sin, meaning silk. Having devoted so much space to the tea culture, I must pass by silk with a few remarks. Descriptions of silk culture are found in the books as far back as 2600 B. C. At Peking there is a temple dedicated to its

inventor, a lady named Yuenfi. As the emperor patronizes agriculture, so the empress offers annually sacrifices to Yuenfi. This industry is pursued in every province in China. The mode of raising the worm and the use of the cocoons is delicate work, to perform which the deft Chinese are admirably adapted.

The unit of land measurement in China is the mou, of which 6.61 constitute an English acre. This unit, however, is variable, being larger in some provinces than in others. In the mountainous parts of North China a curious system prevails of measuring land by the number of days it requires to plough it with one bullock. One day's land is approximately two-thirds of an acre, English measure. Three days' lands make a small holding, while some mountain farmers own seventy or eighty. This system of measurement arises from the fact that the land in the mountains is cultivated along the mountainsides in narrow terraces, many of which are required to make up an acre, and whose area is difficult of estimation. In measuring grain the tables are somewhat similar to our own, the unit being a sheng, which contains nearly an English quart.

A comparison of the yield of Chinese and American farms would be interesting if it could be accurately made. The difference between the styles of planting makes it difficult to do so, as the grain in America is sown broadcast or drilled, while in China all cereals are carefully planted in furrows, wide distances apart. The absence of any statistics as to the average product per acre, such as are published in the United States, increases the difficulty of comparison. It is probable, however, that, in proportion to the quantity of seed sown, the return in North China is larger than the average return in America. This would be the natural result of the careful system of planting, harvesting, and threshing, involving no waste whatever.

The condition of the agricultural classes in comparison with other classes is one of reasonable comfort. Their condition, however, is not the same all over China, the tendency seeming to be toward greater prosperity and larger holdings in the north, and greater poverty and smaller holdings in the south. It is estimated that in Manchuria, for example, three English acres are the smallest quantity

of land on which a family of six or seven people can live. Five acres mean comfort, while from ten to thirty acres are common holdings. It is remarkable that in the southern provinces, where the soil is much more productive, holdings are smaller, and the average of comfort is lower. In the province of Kwangtung less than one-sixth of an acre will support one mouth, as the expressive Chinese phraseology is, while the proprietor of two acres of good land, having a family of five persons, may live from the product of the land. In the south seven acres would constitute wealth, and very few landowners have as many as one hundred. One strong man in Kwangtung can cultivate one acre, or three men five acres, when the land is favourably located. In great contrast with this are the five hundred acre farms which are not uncommon in Manchuria. In other provinces the holdings vary between these two extremes. In Shantung, for example, less than two acres is the average holding, while one hundred is very exceptional. In Shansi three or four acres are an average, and fifteen or twenty a large holding. In Kansuh, which is in the extreme northwest

of China, the average holding is from fifty to sixty acres. In Chihli, in which Peking is situated, there is a high standard of comfort. The soil is productive, and the crops are numerous and varied. The large holdings and the comparative sparseness of the population present a great contrast to the southern province, where many thousands are gathered together on their ancestral acres.

The profits of farming in China are not under any circumstances great. The large holdings are usually in possession of ancient families. They have been handed down for many generations intact, and are held in common. It is not unusual for several hundred people, all of the same family, to hold a large tract of land in common. The Chinese share the aversion of Oriental peoples to part with the land of their fathers; and their religious customs, which require the performance of certain sacrifices to ancestors by the eldest son on behalf of the whole family, encourage this tenancy in common.

The law of China on inheritance is that all sons shall inherit an equal proportion. The land may be divided between them by common

consent, in which case the eldest son has a double share to enable him to defray the expenses of the family sacrifices and to take care of the family burial-ground. Younger sons cannot insist on a division against the will of the elder sons. That statute, coupled with the clannish sentiment of the Chinese race, and the greater ease of tilling a large tract than of tilling small pieces separately, has tended to prevent subdivision of large estates. This feature of landholding makes the above figures of large holdings somewhat deceptive. For instance, a report from Manchuria, published in the *Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, mentions several families holding some hundreds of acres each; but some of these families number over two hundred members, living in large blocks of houses with a single gate and a single kitchen. The aggregate wealth of such a family is great, but the individual share of each member is not enough to constitute affluence. A family by the name of Chen, in the province of Kiangsu, is said to cultivate sixty-six thousand acres, but it is not reported how many bearers

of the surname are part owners of this splendid estate.

On the whole, it is probable that the income of landowners in the vast majority of cases covers only their expenses, enabling them to live in a greater or less degree of comfort, and the cost of keeping up their farms. In fact, the opportunities for investing money in China are not as plentiful as in the United States. Corporations do not exist in great numbers, and stocks and bonds do not form a portion of the daily dealings as in the West.

Wages vary greatly in different localities. In Manchuria, $15 to $20 Mexican, per annum, and food and lodging is the rule; in Chihli and Shantung, $10 to $20; in Kansuh, $19 to $25; in Chekiang, $40. Small as these wages seem to be, it must be remembered that the Chinaman's wants are few. His garments — shoes and hat included, when he has any — are all made from homespun cotton, or woven of straw by the women of his family. In summer the usual costume of an agricultural labourer is only a pair of cotton trousers. Children for several months in the year go entirely naked. In winter the poorer classes

in the north wear wadded cotton clothes and sheepskin coats with the wool inside. In the south heavy garments are unnecessary. Very small wages, therefore, suffice to sustain life, and even these are beyond the reach of all. Many people die every year from starvation. The prosperity of a country has often been supposed to rest on the facility with which a man might attain independence. Of course, what would constitute independence in China might be abject poverty in other lands. The purchasing power of the money in circulation, the price of the necessaries of life, and the ordinary mode of living must be considered in any comparison that may be made. I think that China's place in such a comparison with other countries would not be unfavourable. Dr. Macgowan furnishes some statistics which are applicable to this discussion. He states that in the vicinity of Wenchow and Chekiang sixty per cent. of the rice land is cultivated by non-owners. These tenant farmers pay the landowners one-half of the rice crop. One acre yields nineteen piculs (a picul being 133 1-3 pounds), giving to the landlord and tenant each about $21 Mexican. The

owner pays the land tax of $1.80 per acre, and the tenant is at liberty to raise on the lands any intervening crops he pleases, which all belong to him, and which are estimated at $15 per acre. This brings a tenant's share up to $36 per acre, while the landlord's share is about five per cent.

The average wage of an able-bodied young man is $12 per annum, with food and lodging, straw shoes, and free shaving, — an important item in a country where heads must be shaved three or four times a month. His clothing costs about $4 per annum. In ten years he may buy one-third of an acre of land ($150 per acre), and necessary implements. In ten years more he may double his holdings, and become part owner in a water buffalo. In six more he can procure a wife and live comfortably on his estate. Thus in twenty-six years he has gained a competence.

The theory of China with reference to the ownership of land has always been that it is the property of the state, and that it is held by private owners from the government on condition of the payment of taxes. This theory is expressed in two lines of the ancient classics:

"All the land in the world is the property of the sovereign," and "All the dwellers in the land are the sovereign's servants." This fiction aside, however, land is held in China on the same terms as other property. In deeds for conveyance, the language used is the same as for the sale of any other property. It is held by the owner subject to the payment of a land tax. This tax is fixed in China at so much for each district, and is demanded of the district magistrate by the government; and the magistrate levies it on the landowners under his jurisdiction. It varies according to the character of the soil and the value of the crops. For this purpose land is described as upper, middle, and lower. In Manchuria, for example, the upper grade pays thirty cents Mexican per acre per annum. The middle and lower grades pay the same, only by a legal fiction two acres of the middle and three of the lower are called an acre. In Shantung and Chihli the tax varies from ten to forty cents per acre. In Shansi it reaches $1.80. In some provinces the land tax is paid in grain as well as money, and in some districts this tax amounts to one-seventh of a total crop.

The amount of tax which is fixed by the Board of Revenue to be paid by the district is always, it is believed, increased by the magistrate, who appropriates the surplus to his own use. In case of flood or drought the tax is remitted. The total land tax of China has been estimated at from thirty to thirty-five millions of taels.

Agrarian questions have arisen in China as in other parts of the world. In Chinese history we find that many of the social troubles, which seem so new when they come upon us in the West, have been experimented on here centuries ago, and that most of the proposed legal remedies have been tried and failed. For instance, how to prevent the accumulation of land by the capitalists to the injury of the poorer people is a question which was considered by the Chinese more than two thousand years ago. In the year B. C. 6, the Emperor Ai Ti, by the advice of his ministers, issued an edict limiting the quantity of land to be held by any one person to fifty acres; and three years were allowed to the large owners to dispossess themselves of the excess, after which period all land over that quantity belonging to any one individual escheated to the

state. Land thereupon became cheap; but subsequent ministers for their own advantage set aside the decree, and the endeavour to prevent monopoly was frustrated. A subsequent attempt, which was made under the Emperor Wang Wang, failed from other causes. He decreed that seventeen acres should be the limit of any person's holding; that the surplus be divided among the owner's clansmen and relations without compensation; and that death be the penalty for failure to comply after three years. So numerous were the offenders, however, that the law could not be enforced, and it had to be abandoned. In the fifth century another dispossession of wealthy men was decreed, and seven acres were given to every man and woman to become their absolute property at the end of three years, on condition of their having planted a certain number of trees. This statute lapsed after a short time.

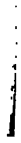
A most remarkable episode was an attempt in the eleventh century to benefit the farmers, and improve agriculture generally, by loaning to the farmers the money of the state at two per cent. interest. The results were most dis-

CHAPTER XI

ARTS AND LANGUAGE

THE Chinese are noted the world over for their artistic work in bronze, cloisonné, silver, gold, and ivory. This is shown especially in Canton, the most interesting city in China, and probably in the world. It is a great bazaar. On either side of its six feet wide streets are stores and shops of all kinds. The fronts of these buildings are open. There are no doors or windows. At night the fronts are put in. In the stores on the narrow streets you may see priceless silks and satins, wonderful embroideries, jewelry in gold and silver, intricate ivory balls, beautiful fans, furs, jade, rare vases, the admirable old blue porcelain, or the expensive sang-de-bœuf. It would seem that nobody was engaged in making anything common, but all were catering to the tastes of wealthy amateurs. The hubbub of the

BRONZE INCENSE BURNER IN LAMA TEMPLE,
PEKING



streets is deafening. Two chairs can scarcely pass each other, and when they meet a wordy war ensues between the bearers. It is a bedlam, or a chaos, — but your bearers press on, and take you to some store, where, in a delightful room, laid away in cedar chests, are the marvels of modern art. The Cantonese have been associated with foreigners for more than a century, because the foreign ship, bent on trade, made Canton its first port of entry.

There have been wars, the Arrow war and the Opium war, and uprisings against foreigners, but, after all, the money of Europe has proved desirable, and in spite of occasional insurrections, trade and commerce have held their sway. At Canton now the foreigners possess one of the most delightful spots in the Far East. It is the island of Shameen, oval-shaped, a half-mile long, and about four hundred yards broad. Here the English and French have concessions, the island being divided between them. Here are broad streets, grass plots, large dwellings with spacious verandas, churches and banks and business houses. An elegant hospitality prevails, and the hundreds of strangers who visit Canton

are cha y : l. hinaman can cr tw which connect the island th l without a pass, and a guard Chi s is always on duty. Situated thin t tro , the weather there is warm, of c t the foreigner has learned to to : to suit the climate, and Shai n o d an earthly paradise.

In their customs and habits the Chinese are antithetical to us. The Chinese shakes his own hand when he accosts an acquaintance, never the hand of the other person. Why would not this be a good custom for the President to adopt? It would save a good deal of inconvenience, and might have saved the life of President McKinley at Buffalo. The left, and not the right, is the place of honour. Sign-boards in China hang perpendicularly, and not horizontally. In writing, the Chinese write from right to left, instead of from left to right, as we do. The Chinese go into mourning by putting on white garments, and they put on black when the mourning is over. The men wear gowns, and the women trousers. The men are chambermaids, and the women

boatmen, and very expert sailors they are. Dinner ends with soup, instead of beginning with it, as with us. The rice congee is always the last dish served. At night watchmen go around beating a gong, or two sticks together. They do not care to catch a burglar, but only want to scare him so that he will go away. They pay no attention to any property except that which they are employed to guard. Once a watchman saw a burglar on a roof adjoining his beat and called out to him. The burglar said that he was not going to rob his premises, but the house next to them. The watchman then called out, "All right, go ahead."

At the very last of my stay in China, — in the year 1898, — China joined the postal system, and established a postal department, of which Sir Robert Hart became the head. One could then put a Chinese stamp on a letter and send it to any country, and in like manner foreign stamps would prepay postage to China from any part of the world. This is the chief benefit of the Postal Union. Before that time there were companies in China which carried letters anywhere in the interior, and which ensured their delivery to the addressees, and

the Imperial Maritime Customs sent the mails to and fro between the foreign concessions.

The establishment of a post-office system by China was grievously resented by some of the foreign communities. Some of these little places had been realizing considerable sums by the sale of stamps. The philatelists the world over bought them in quantities. At Chefoo, for instance, the public revenues came chiefly from the sale of stamps. Along the Yang-tse several concessions relied exclusively on the sale of postage-stamps to keep the streets in order, to pay the police, and to establish and operate schools. The foreign ministers were asked to procure the repeal of the postal innovation, but under the instructions of their governments, all of which approved the new scheme, they could do nothing. China, however, made some concessions in the way of permitting the mails for the legations to be sent to and from the seaports in separate bags, which were locked and sealed.

China is noted for its various associations, educational, charitable, labour unions, mutual insurance companies, and many others. Every trade has its guild, and strikes follow any vio-

lation of its regulations. It is related that in one case 125 men each bit a member who had employed more apprentices than he was allowed, and his death ensued from his injuries. At Peking all the principal provinces keep up clubs, where their fellow provincials are entertained, and whence their bodies are sent to their homes if they die at the capital. These associations are productive of good cheer and the exercise of charity. Li Hung Chang always dined once a year with the Anhui Club, and the dinner was a great occasion.

The fundamental principle of the Chinese polity is the worship of ancestors. This is a simple cult. In every house is erected an altar, before which, at the new moon and the full moon, the ancestors of the family are worshipped. In the spring the graves are decorated with flowers. The influence of this worship on the young people is good. It is believed that the ancestors favour everything that is right, decent, and proper, and that they frown on every act that is unworthy or unbecoming. To the children, when they have lost their parents, this worship is a consolation. It increases parental authority, which is

nowhere so potent as in China. It inculcates, also, loyalty to the emperor, who is the father of his people. Unfortunately, it constitutes a stumbling-block to the propagation of Christianity. Neither Catholic nor Protestant missionaries permit their congregations to worship their ancestors. The convert must abjure this pious custom. The observance demanded of Sunday as a holy day and the denial of the right to worship ancestors are the two greatest obstructions to the Christianization of China.

If some way could be devised by which the element of religion could be taken out of the ancestral cult, and the deep, abiding sentiment of respect for the dead left intact, the path of the missionary would become smoother and easier.

We Caucasians imagine that we alone are charitable. In China there are a great many benevolent associations, such as asylums for the old, the orphan, and the widow. There are mutual aid societies. The emperor gives to every beggar in Peking a coat during the winter, and public kitchens feed the poor with millet. It is very common for many Chinamen

THE WORSHIP OF ANCESTORS

be called a corruption of words and phrases derived from all the tongues spoken by all the peoples of the world. Naturally English predominates. This patois had its origin at Canton, where it still flourishes. The native traders picked up English more rapidly than the foreigners learned Chinese. A vocabulary was created which preserved, as nearly as could be done by the Chinese, English sounds. By degrees this strange jargon became the medium in business, and as men of other nationalities came to China — Portuguese, Malays, East Indians — words with curious fitness were borrowed from their speech. As a type of appropriateness, take the definition of a missionary, he is called "a joss pidgin man," and a bishop is "a number one top-side joss pidgin man." Remembering that the word "joss" is a corruption of the Portuguese "deos," gods, it will be recognized that this definition is strikingly accurate. The derivation of other words is difficult to find. Take for example "chop-chop" for hurry up, and "bobbery" for angry. Nevertheless, it is very expressive when a Chinese boy says he will do something "chop-chop," or that you make

him "bobbery." "Chow-chow," food, and "chin-chin," greeting, sound like very good English expressions. From the Portuguese there is "maskee," never mind; from the French "savvy," know; and "kumsha," a present, from the Japanese. The word "go-down," warehouse, came from India, and is universally used in China. It was adopted in India because goods were stored there in vaults. "Chit," a letter, is another universally used word, as also is "tiffin," lunch, and both these came from Hindustan. In Pidgin-English old is converted into "olo," and cold into "colo." It is common to speak of an "olo custom." There is a curious tendency to add vowels to the ends of words. Thus much becomes "muchee," and catch "catchee." The following conversation is a fair sample of Pidgin, taken from Williams's "Middle Kingdom." A soliciting shopkeeper addresses a customer as follows: "My chin-chin you, one good fleen (friend) take care for my (patronize me); spose you wanchee any first chop ting, my can catchee for you. I secure sell 'em plum cash (prime cost) alla same cumsha (present); can do?" The foreigner replies

as follows: "Just now my no wanchee any ting; any teem (time) spose you got vely number one good ting p'shaps I come your shop look see."

After hearing such sentences, the foreigner imitates them, and by degrees the whole business is conducted in this gibberish. The merchant uses it in talking to his comprador, and the lady in conversing with her maid. One result is bad. The merchant contents himself with this easily acquired jargon, and never learns Chinese, and difficulties continually arise because the contracting parties do not fully understand each other. In Pidgin "my" always takes the place of I, but you and he are used. Instead of using any part of the verb "to be," "belong" is always used. A Chinaman will say, for example, "inside belong too much hot." When you call at a house you inquire of the boy, "Mississee have got," and the boy answers, "have got" or "no have got," meaning that she is or is not at home. In Pidgin "dignified" becomes "plenty face," and undignified "no got face." The name of a place is followed by the word side, as "home side," or "Japan side." "Top side"

means up-stairs. "Walkee" means all species of locomotion. A Chinaman will ask "what time that ship walkee." "Can do" means all right. This phrase is also much used interrogatively. A ricksha man will offer his vehicle, or a boatman a sampan, by asking "can do." A wild duck is a "fly away duck," while a tame duck is a "walkee, walkee duck."

The word "chit" has held its own among foreigners in China by the use of the chit book. Every foreigner has a book in which he enters the addresses of messages sent by him. The addressee acknowledges receipt opposite his name. Receipts for money and dinner invitations are entered in it, thus a record is preserved of every day's doings. History might be written by collecting a vast number of chit books. A messenger at six Mexican dollars a month does this work better than the telephone. It is probable, however, that the new invention has superseded its primitive predecessor.

The use of Pidgin-English is chiefly confined to the southern and middle parts of China. In the north the Chinaman learns correct English, as he does in California.

There is also a species of "French Pidgin" which is extensively used in the French possessions in the Far East. This curious language is called "petit négre." Its vocabulary is not as extensive as that of Pidgin-English. It employs only French words. It has no auxiliary verbs, no genders, and uses the infinitive for all moods and tenses. The familiar expression "can do" or "cannot do" becomes in "petit négre," "y-a-moyen" or "y-a-pas moyen." For "you savvy," there is "toi connaitre." For "my wantchee," "moi vouloir," for "boy," "boi-ee." A jinricksha is called a "pousse-pousse," and a big knife a "coupe-coupe." In time, no doubt, this language will achieve some of the importance that its English sister enjoys.

The members of the Imperial Maritime Customs, foreign students attached to the legations who enter the consular service, the official interpreters, and the missionaries are the only people who, as classes, speak Chinese. No foreigner ever undertakes to write it. That duty is left to the Chinese writers, of whom every legation and every commercial house has one. His business is to take down what

is said by the interpreter, and write it in suitable style. Those persons who desire to learn the language engage, as soon as they arrive in China, a teacher, who generally remains with them as long as they are in the country, and who acts as secretary as well as teacher. Under the law of the United States, the second secretary of the legation must study Chinese, and a teacher is provided for him by the State Department. The missionaries are in general the finest Chinese scholars. Their work necessitates a mastery of the language, but they often make ludicrous mistakes by the wrong use of tones. It is well known that the language has no alphabet. It is made up of symbols, which formerly were rough pictures of the objects named, but they are now in many cases arbitrary, and do not at all indicate in appearance the things spoken of. How numerous these symbols are nobody knows. They have been stated at 24,235, 54,409, and even up to 260,899. Williams thinks that twenty-five thousand would cover the total of really different characters in the language sanctioned by good usage; and he ought to know, for he was the greatest of sinalogues. It is

probable that with ten thousand symbols one could get along very well. It is apparent that the labour of learning Chinese is immense. Its study often injures the eyesight. It is distasteful in every way, and it requires the spur of necessity to be pursued.

The Manchu and the Mongolian languages both have alphabets. When Caleb Cushing went to China as commissioner, he realized the desirability of learning Chinese, but it was too difficult, so he determined to learn Manchu, but he never found time to do so.

From the inability of the foreigner to talk with the people, and his complete dependence on a "boy" to interpret for him, it is reasonable to say that he learns very little about the real character of the Chinese. Nevertheless, he usually goes to China weighted down with reforms, but none of these touch the conduct of the foreigners toward the Chinese.

YANG YU, MINISTER TO JAPAN

Mongolians, not much can be said. They greatly resemble our Indian squaws.

The system of geomancy, which is called fung-shui, literally wind and water, has greatly influenced the science, religion, and customs of the Chinese from the earliest period of their history. Under its rules, as interpreted by priests or charlatans, the location of houses and of tombs and the arrangement of marriages are determined. In this great Empire courting is unknown. This period in the life of the young, which is attended in our country by so much pleasure and enjoyment, is totally debarred to the young Chinese. Secluded even from his sisters in the family life, knowing no women, he may never have dreamed that marriage awaited him. In the Chinese system the father selects the bride, and, when she crosses the threshold of the groom, after the ceremony of marriage is over, he sees her features for the first time. Betrothal is conducted through the medium of a class called mei-jin, or go-betweens. Finding that his son is of age to marry, — and early marriages are favoured in order that every person may have a descendant to worship him, — the father looks around

among his acquaintances for a suitable wife for his son. He then employs a go-between, whose business it is to know all the circumstances which surround the young lady. The go-between and the brother of the prospective groom go to the father and the brother of the girl, and find out her name and the moment of her birth. At this stage contemplated marriages are often wrecked. In China each and every day is a memorial of some animal. One is born on the day of the lion, tiger, goose, or some other creature. Should it happen, for example, that the girl is born on the day of the goose, and the man on that of the fox, this fatality terminates the negotiations. The union would surely be unhappy, because the fox from time immemorial has been accustomed to eat the goose. Further search must be made to find a mate who was born under a star which is not antagonistic. Should, however, this preliminary trouble not exist, then the horoscopes of the parties are examined to find out whether the proposed union will be happy. It would take too much space to describe a horoscope. Let it suffice to say that there are tables representing natural objects,

which, with the application of the eight points of the compass, furnish a cabalistic divination of the future career of the subject. If the eight characters contain a happy augury, the marriage negotiations proceed. If acceptance of the bride's parents ensues, then presents are sent to them. The imperial almanac is referred to, and a lucky day is chosen for the wedding. Finally the groom sends a party of his friends to bring the bride to his own house. From the time of the engagement until the marriage the Chinese fiancée must lead the life of a nun. There are no buggy rides or pink teas for her. Really it would seem that this custom is preferable to our practice of wearing out the bride with innumerable festivals, which succeed each other day after day for several weeks before the wedding-day.

Nevertheless, it is whispered in Chinese circles that sometimes engaged persons do see each other, and it is related that once a young man saw a girl in the streets, and was smitten by her charms, but after the marriage it was found that a mistake had been made, and he had received the third daughter instead of the second.

On the wedding-day the guests assemble at the groom's house. Sedans, porters, and musicians are ready. A procession starts for the house of the bride. When it leaves the bride's house, a baked pig or a large piece of pork is carried at the head to tempt the evil spirits to eat it, and let the bride pass unharmed. The bride goes in a red gilt, marriage sedan, arrayed in her finest clothes, to the groom's house. To make assurance doubly sure, she is covered with a great mantle, or veil, and almost smothered by a huge hat, and the door of the sedan is locked, the best man carrying the key. After the ceremony, back the procession goes, this time attended by porters bearing great red boxes and trays full of clothing, kitchen utensils, household goods, gifts of all kinds, which in that country, as in ours, characterize the celebration of holy matrimony. As the bride approaches the groom's house, the hideous music strikes up, and firecrackers peal noisy salutes. The groom helps her out of the sedan. Two cups of wine are set before the parties, which they sip, then the groom leads the bride into the nuptial chamber, removes the hat and mantle, and for the first time

sees his wife. Afterward the guests come to scan and criticize the new wife. They tease her unmercifully, and if she bears the test well it is an augury of married happiness, but if she gives way to her temper, she is doomed to misfortune.

Curiously enough the women favour polygamy, because the secondary wives are practically servants of the first. They relieve the first wife in many ways of household cares, and they increase her importance. She is the moon and the others are the stars, while the man is the sun.

CHAPTER XIII.

RELIGION AND SUPERSTITION

IT is easier to describe the religions of the Chinese negatively than positively. One can specify more accurately what they do not believe than what they do. Some of the negative features of their religious beliefs form striking contrasts to the theories embodied in the systems of other nations. At no time were there practices of human sacrifices in China, while appalling destruction of human life was sanctioned among the Aztecs, the Egyptians, the Hindus, the Carthaginians, and other ancient nations, including even Syrians and Jews, Greeks and Romans.

Another broad and wide demarcation from other systems of mythology exists in the absence among the Chinese of the deification of sensuality. Their religion has never countenanced or sanctioned licentious rites or orgies.

Among their goddesses Aphrodite finds no place, and no temple of Mylitta has ever existed in China. Its ruins do not perpetuate the obscenities of Thebes or Pompeii, and its gods are not engaged in revolting amours. Vice is concealed and not obtruded, as in some other religious systems. The Chinese may be idolaters, but it must be admitted that what they adore is pure, chaste, and virtuous. In lieu of Venus, they have a "Goddess of Mercy." The fundamental idea of their belief is exactly antagonistic to that of the Christians. They believe that human nature is originally virtuous, whereas the Christian tenet is that all men are born in sin. It is impressed on the children that they were born virtuous, and they are abjured by exhortations to continue in the same path, and to avoid corruption. Veneration of ancestors and obedience to parents are strenuously taught, and types of human perfection are kept before their eyes.

Rivalry of sects is scarcely known in China. The three prominent forms of belief, Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism, are mingled together in practice, and a man, though a Confucianist, may worship at either of the other

altars. The state religion is Confucianism, but essentially this cult is only a system of morals and etiquette. Confucius politely ignored the gods. He admitted that he did not understand much about them, and he thought that the obligations of man lay rather in doing his duty to his relatives and society than in worshipping unknown spirits. "Not knowing life," he said, "how can we know death?" He was born 551 years before the Christian era, but he gave to the world the "golden rule." The leading features of his philosophy are subordination to superiors, and kind, upright dealing with our fellow man. He inculcates honour, duty, and obedience of children to their parents, and he carries these principles into all the relations of life. Of course there are ceremonies in the state religion. Sacrifices are offered to the heavens, the earth, ancestors, and also to the sun, the moon, Confucius, and some gods, but there is so little theology in the system that the agnostic could without sacrifice of principle be a Confucian.

In religious beliefs the Chinese are our antipodes. They deny the Bible's account of the creation of mankind. They have some fanci-

ful theories of this event, one of which is that two brooms were thrown down from heaven, and one became a man and the other a woman, from whom the human race descended. Others ascribe all creation to nature, and others think that matter is self-existent.

As to the rulership of the world, the ideas of the Chinese are nebulous. They believe in heaven, but not in one supreme deity. Little time is spent by the common people in any form of worship, but much is devoted to filial piety. High officials are charged with the duties of worshipping the deities, but the ceremonies performed by them are purely formal.

The doctrine of atonement for sin by vicarious suffering does not exist in China. In the place of it the practical Chinese believes that good works done by him offset his sins.

Belief in the Holy Spirit has no existence in China. The power relied on to secure a good life is one's personal will.

Buddhists and Taoists believe in a future life. Representations of the Buddhist hell, where every species of punishment is inflicted, are found in many temples. After sufficient punishment, the sufferers are born again as

men or women, insects, birds, or beasts. The truly good ascend the "Western Heavens," where they may become gods or Buddhas, or, after infinite ages, return to earth in some suitable condition. In the matter of souls the Chinese are liberal. They believe that each person has three souls, one of which at death goes to the ancestral tablet, another remains in the grave, and the third goes to the infernal regions. The resurrection of the body is utterly repudiated. It forms no part of their ancient faith.

The most popular religion in China is Buddhism. The name is derived from the Hindu word "Budh," meaning truth. This cult was brought to China in A. D. 67, by an embassy which the Emperor Ming Ti had sent to India on account of his having dreamed that he saw the image of a foreign god. Its progress was rapid. It appealed strongly to the Chinese because it supplied some definite notion of a future state, of which Confucianism took no account, and it fixed and determined the status of visionary gods. The innate longing of the human race to know something about future life, and the hope held out of eternal happi-

ness, supplied the vacuum as to unseen things which Confucius left unfilled save by a belief in ancestral worship. Buddha was born the son of a king 623 B. C. He offered to his adherents a system of good works and self-denials, which by their own efforts and mediation would secure their salvation. Williams says that "in such a theology salvation by faith is rendered impossible, and sacrifice for sin by way of atonement useless." Nevertheless, the Nirvana — perfect rest — won its way to the popular approval of a race whose life is, and has always been, one of painful labour. It must be said of this cult that it is gentle and pure. Women are respected, the sacrifice of human beings is repudiated, the virtues common to humanity everywhere are sanctioned and upheld. Precepts and observances set before the people just laws and high motives for righteous actions, and proportionate rewards for good works are offered them.

To the oft repeated question, Is it worth while to send foreign teachers to supplant the old religions by Christianity? the writer answers that, as Buddhism undoubtedly exercises a salutary influence on the national life

a man for the evident act of God, and I was told that heaven would not have struck the altar with lightning unless a sin had been committed. Some wrong had been done by somebody, and it had to be avenged, and there was nobody to punish except the guardians of the temple. In like manner China punishes insane persons very severely. If an insane person kills his father, as sometimes happens, he is cut to pieces by the process called the Lingchi. That is, his members are one by one severed from his body until death at last comes. The reason is the same as I have already given. It is argued that heaven would not have made the man insane unless he or his ancestors committed some great crime or sin, and that they must be avenged.

At the winter solstice the emperor goes to the Temple of Heaven to offer sacrifice as the head priest of his race. He prepares himself by fasting, and then, attended by his nobles, he sacrifices by burning a bullock, pure and without blemish. The bullock is burned in a porcelain furnace. The deity worshipped on this occasion is Shangti. The marble altar on which the emperor stands is pure and simple.

The service is very impressive. The gray dawn, the pale lights from the suspended lanterns, the silence of the surrounding multitudes, while the high priest of four hundred millions of people, attended by princes, magistrates, soldiers, musicians, and servants, pays his annual worship to his imperial ancestors and to all the powers of heaven, make an occasion of great solemnity.

On the day before the winter solstice the emperor in similar manner performs service in the Temple of Earth. It may be remarked that the Chinese are somewhat poetical in their religious observances. The Temple of Heaven is to the south of the imperial city, because it is supposed to be brighter and clearer in the south. The Temple of Earth is to the north for opposite reasons. The Temple of the Sun is to the east, and the Temple of the Moon is to the west.

Naturally you will ask, who is Shangti, the divine being thus worshipped with simple but imposing ceremony? It does not appear that Shangti was ever incarnate. He is not like the Jehovah or the Jupiter of antiquity. He was never on earth. The Christian scholar

will ask how the worship stands related to God, the Supreme Being of the Christian? We must acknowledge its great antiquity, its high degree of reverence and solemnity, that it produces elevation of mind, grandeur, and awe. We recognize the utter absence of idolatrous images. There are no fierce or tawdry gods as are found in the Buddhist and Taoist temples. The worship is extended to an ideal being. The Christian scholar, however, will tell you that nowhere in the Chinese mythology is Shangti spoken of as a creator. He is simply a part of that great heaven whose worship constitutes the chief religion of the Chinese, and makes him a pantheist and not the worshipper of one God.

The prevalence of superstition constitutes a remarkable condition of the Chinese people, and explains the occurrence of riots and antagonism to foreigners. It is the more remarkable that this should be so, because they are generally freethinkers, or agnostics, set little store by religion, and are tolerant of all faiths. Whenever, however, a superstitious principle has been contravened, serious difficulties have arisen. There have been riots in

China because the missionaries have built houses which overlooked the neighbouring grounds, whereby the fung shui, literally wind and water, was injuriously affected. In one city an American consul placed a vane on his flagstaff. The act was denounced as detrimental to fung shui, and the vane had to be removed in order to prevent a riot. The most serious riots that ever occurred were caused by the charge that the missionaries used the eyes of infants to make medicine. When the diplomatic body discussed this subject with the Tsung-li-Yamen, we were surprised to hear two of its members say that they had always believed that the charge was true. A common objection to mining has always been that a dragon sleeps under the hills, and if he is disturbed he will destroy the earth. Even if the more intelligent Chinese do not believe in popular hallucinations, still they do not antagonize them. Thus Li Hung Chang worshipped a wretched little snake which was caught in the Peiho River, and carried by the multitude to the temple of the water god. On being asked whether he believed that it was really the water god, he said: "It did

not matter whether he believed it or not, the people did, and it was best to humour them." The great Siberian road was deflected some miles from its course that it might not interfere with the fung shui of a graveyard. In Peking no two houses are on the same line; one is either farther back or farther forward than its neighbours. The reason assigned is that the evil spirits cannot turn a corner, and so when they come down a house they must go off into space and be lost. On the ridges of all the houses there are placed little clay dogs, which stand with open mouths, ready to catch the evil spirits as they fly. It is well to remember in this connection that everybody is more or less superstitious. When a distillery failed in an Indiana town recently, it was stated that the government had given it the unfortunate number "13," it had started on the 13th of the month, and in the last month of its existence it had made thirteen barrels of whiskey. When salt is upset at table, we throw some over the left shoulder to counteract the bad augury. We do not like to see the new moon over our left shoulder, or to have a black cat cross our path, or to pass

a funeral, or to dine thirteen at table. We must throw rice and old shoes at a wedding-party, and we must always have silver money in our pockets when we go hunting.

It is to be noted that our superstitions do not affect us in the grave affairs of life, whereas, by official acknowledgment printed in the imperial almanac, the most serious matters are regulated by fung shui. The great riots of 1900 furnished conclusive proof that the highest officials were the slaves of necromancy. The Boxers pretended to go into a trance, and to come out of it invulnerable. They performed before the emperor and empress-dowager, who became converts to their pretensions, and did not raise a hand to suppress their murderous schemes.

One of the peculiarities of the Chinese government in the past has been its contempt of trade. The Yamen could never understand why the foreign representatives paid so much attention to commercial questions. In 1892 I made a great effort to induce China to send an exhibit to the Chicago Exposition. I showed them that their teas, silks, embroideries, old armour, and many other things would

be splendidly advertised by being displayed at Chicago. At that particular time Ceylon tea was replacing China tea in the markets of the world, and it was desirable that strenuous steps should be taken both to improve the cultivation of the tea, and to bring it prominently into notice. After a complete recital of these matters, the only answer that I got was that the government had nothing to do with trade; that was for the merchants to attend to. Goods for exhibition purposes could be exported without paying duties, and that was all that China would do. In the progress of events, however, she has reconsidered her determination, and decided to be well represented at St. Louis.

In China the class which ranks all others in popular respect is that of the literati. They are the heroes of the government and of society. Success in the examinations confers the highest distinction. The soldier, the sailor, and the merchant belong to the lower classes. To be a member of the Hanlin Academy is the highest distinction in the Empire. As is common in China, the buildings of this Academy were of the most ordinary kind. There

was a succession of open courts, surrounded by low sheds and inferior houses, which were mostly in ruins. Rubbish, dust, and decay were everywhere. On the walls, however, the Chinese scholar might note inscriptions which betokened the importance of the place. The Emperor Kienlung in 1774 rebuilt the rooms, and made presents to the Academy of an encyclopædia and a volume of his own poems. The wretched rooms, now fallen to decay, were formerly occupied by the scholars of the Empire, who prepared state papers, poems, or histories. The Academy still exists in its pristine importance, but the work is no longer done in its buildings. Its members do their work elsewhere, in the various boards, under the direction of the presidents and vice-presidents. It must be said that the public buildings are all of the meanest and most contemptible appearance. The six great boards at Peking, corresponding to our State, War, and other departments in Washington, resemble nothing so much as stable-yards in small country towns. Every appearance of luxury is discountenanced by the government. All arts are subsidiary to the art of government. The Hanlin has

existed six hundred years in Peking, but before that period for as many years it followed the dynasties as they resided at Nanking, Hungwu, Hangchau, and Pienliang. Dr. W. A. P. Martin has published a series of essays, entitled the "Hanlin Papers," in which the reader will find a full account of the Hanlin Academy.

In the constitution of the Hanlin, the duties of the members are defined to be the superintendence of the composition of dynastic histories, charts, books, imperial decrees, and literary matters in general. Natural talent and rare acquisitions in all the departments of Chinese scholarship are the qualifications for membership. Says Doctor Martin: "The new members are not admitted by vote of the association, nor appointed by the will of the imperial master. The seats in this Olympus are put up to competition, and, as in the Hindu mythology, the gifted aspirant, though without name, influence, and in spite of opposition, may win the immortal amreet."

In some respects the French Academy may be likened to the Hanlin. The main difference between the Hanlin and the European insti-

tutes is that of the absolute disregard of the sciences in the former. The Chinese scholar knows nothing of ancient or modern history, outside of China, geography, astronomy, zoölogy, or physics. He knows perfectly the dynastic history of his own country, and he composes beautiful poems, and these are his only accomplishments. There are indications, however, that he will be required to study modern languages and the sciences.

CHAPTER XIV.

SLAVERY

THE origin of slavery in China is given in an ancient writing, the Fong-fou-ting, in substance as follows: In antiquity there were no slaves, neither male nor female. The first slaves were felons who lost their liberty by reason of their crimes. But they were slaves simply in the sense that their labour belonged to the public. Prisoners and captives taken in war introduced a second species of slavery. Finally, in the troubles and misfortunes of the third dynasty, the poor who were without resources gave themselves with their families to the great and rich who were willing to support them. These last two forms of slavery caused the condition to be regarded rather as a misfortune than a shame.

In the memoirs prepared by the early Catholic missionaries, and printed in 1777, there

are treatises on slavery. Marriage of slaves was encouraged for the sake of the increase.

Slaves were usually treated with kindness, and were supported by their masters in their old age. Manumission was common, and instances are recorded wherein slaves refused the tender of their freedom. The missionaries wax eloquent in defence of slavery, and regard the institution as developing "a mode of thought and sentiment worthy of the authors of Telemachus and of the Friend of Man." The traditional Chinese patriarch's idea of the family, they say, modifies and tempers slavery so that masters and slaves become a great family.

Slaves were never numerous in China, and of late years they have grown less. All China knows, says one writer, that an edict of the emperor was necessary to oblige his Tartars on duty to have slaves for domestic servants, and that this edict is hardly observed.

All modern writers agree that slavery still exists. Every native may purchase slaves, and the condition is hereditary. Freedom is forfeited by crimes or mortgaged for debt. At Peking girls bring higher prices than boys,

varying, according to age, up to eighteen years, from thirty to three hundred taels. Needy parents sell their children, and orphans are sold in times of famine for a few taels in cash.

Williams ascribes the paucity of slaves to the existence of the competitive examination system. The widely diffused education consequent on the preparation for the examinations by two million of people every year has saved China, he thinks, from the feudal system, the villeinage consequent thereon from the introduction of castes, and the considerable extension of slavery. To deny that competitive examinations have had this beneficent tendency would be to contradict the experience of humanity touching the benefactions of education. But the same result in Western countries is much more advantageously obtained by the common schools, which more than all else are the distinguishing glory of modern times.

It is probable that the patriarchal form of the Chinese government, the primitive idea among the Chinese as among the Jews, that all the people constituted a great family, and

the doctrine of the worship of ancestors, have more than the competitive examinations restricted the spread of slavery.

That slavery is tolerated by Chinese law will sufficiently appear from the statutes which, although fallen somewhat in disuse, still exist. I quote a few of these laws.

By Section 115 of the penal code, a master soliciting and obtaining in marriage for his slave the daughter of a freeman suffers eighty blows. Accessories are punished in like manner. A slave soliciting and obtaining a daughter of a freeman in marriage is punished in like manner. If he receives the woman into his family he suffers one hundred blows.

A person representing falsely a slave to be free, and thereby procuring such slave a free husband, suffers ninety blows. The marriages are in all such cases null and void.

Under Section 313, a slave striking a freeman shall be punished one degree more severely than is by law provided in similar cases between equals.

Entire disability so caused is punished by strangulation, and in event of death by the blow, the slave is beheaded. A freeman strik-

ing a slave is punished one degree less than in ordinary cases, but he is strangled if death follows the blow.

Slaves striking or killing one another are punished as equals are.

Under the head of "slaves striking their masters," Section 314, the punishments are very severe. For striking the master, the punishment is beheading; for killing him, death by the slow process; for accidental killing, death by strangling; for accidental wounding, one hundred blows and banishment. For similar injuries to their master's relatives, the punishments are reduced one degree.

If the master beats the slave to death for having committed a crime, he suffers one hundred blows.

A system of servitude was carried on in the coal mines west of Peking. Men were involved in gambling debts. Their lives and labour were mortgaged for these debts, and they became slaves. The Chinese have a great horror of this condition, and in certain districts much has been done to put a stop to it. During times of famine in Shantung large numbers of girls were sold into slavery. I was

once told that a Chinese convert at Tsi-nan-fu sold his little daughter for $16, to serve as a maid of all work in a rich man's family. Boys were not marketable. I was told also that another convert sold his wife for $2.50 to pay a debt of that amount. I do not vouch for these stories further than that they were told me by a reputable man. He also said that there exists in some parts of China a peasant servitude, such as formerly existed in Russia.

CHAPTER XV.

DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD

IT is scarcely necessary to say that many things which are new in this country are very old in China. Among them is the practice of cremation. Following their favourite idea of classification by numerical categories, the Chinese distinguish five forms of burial: these follow the five elements or primordial essences upon which the whole scheme of Chinese philosophy is based, *viz.*, water, wood, metal, earth, and fire.

Burial by water is practised somewhat in South China by dwellers by rivers or the sea, and consists, as the name indicates, simply in entrusting the body to the water. Burial by wood is the usual interment in a wooden coffin, the universal custom of the Chinese. Metal burial is said to be the interment of an emperor, though, as a matter of fact, emperors

also are buried in wooden coffins. Earth burial is that practised by the Mohammedans. Followers of this sect carry the dead to the grave in a coffin, but the body is committed to the earth unenclosed. The last form, burial by fire, as the Chinese call it, or cremation, is, in view of all circumstances, the most remarkable of all.

It would seem somewhat inconsistent in a people whose deepest religious instinct is reverence for ancestors to practise cremation. The teachings of Confucius on the observance of funeral ceremonies and the performance of certain rites at ancestral tombs would apparently be quite opposed to such a custom. In spite of his teachings, however, this form of burial is practised somewhat to-day in China, and was much more so in the middle ages.

The foreign books on China usually consulted refer to it as practised only by Buddhist priests and lamas, and as required in the case of lepers. Well-informed Chinese in North China themselves will deny that the custom has ever existed outside of the religious orders. It seems, however, that, while perhaps never universal, cremation was formerly practised

in many localities. A Chinese historical work states that huo tsang (burial by fire) was introduced from Tien Chu Kuo, now called Yin Tu Kuo (India), during the Han dynasty (about the beginning of the Christian era). It came as a feature of Buddhism, and was probably confined at first to priests.

It is well known that cremation in Japan was introduced with Buddhism, and had never been known there before. The cremation of a bonze in 700 A. D. is said by Griffis ("Mikado's Empire," p. 175, note) to have been the first instance. It is now regularly practised there by certain Buddhist sects.

In a book called the "Kao Seng Chuan," it is stated that the Chinese Emperor Han Wu Ti (92 B. C.), in digging a lake, found some bone ashes, and asked his celebrated minister, Tung Fang So, what they were. The reply was that they were the ashes of a Buddhist priest from Hsi Yii, perhaps Tibet, and it was explained that when a priest dies he is buried by fire, a custom which is therefore called chieh hui, "to reduce to ashes." The minister further stated that the people of Ti Chiang have this mode of burial. Williams

states in his dictionary that Ti Chiang was "a tribe in the Shang dynasty, which occupied a region on the upper waters of the river Wei, in Kansuh." Whether or not this is the place referred to, it would be difficult to say, but the statement seems to indicate the practice of cremation in that locality even anterior to Buddhism.

Another Chinese work, the "Jih Chih Lu," refers to "burial by fire" during the Sung dynasty (twelfth to fourteenth centuries). It is stated that in the reign of the Emperor Shao Hsing (1131) the custom of cremation prevailed in Kiang-nan (Kiangsi, Kiangsu, and Anhui). It is further stated that Han Chi (1008-75), one of the most celebrated of the statesmen of that dynasty and a man who was "renowned," says Mayers, "by solicitude for the well-being of the people," bought lands for free burial-grounds for the poor, and thus abolished the custom. Marco Polo's mention of it, however, shows that it continued to be commonly practised during the thirteenth century. This great traveller seems to have been chiefly struck during his journey in China by the idolatry, the use of paper money, and the

practice of cremation. At that time there must, however, have already been great feeling on the part of the officials and the educated classes against the custom.

In the vicinity of Su Chow, in the year 1262, a cremation furnace was destroyed by lightning. Upon the petition of the priests to whose temple it was attached, and who had derived a profit therefrom, requesting permission to rebuild, a local official memorialized his superiors urging that this be withheld, and wrote at length against the custom in general. He recommended, in order to abolish the practice, that a free cemetery be furnished by the government for each five families. Such incidents, which were not uncommon, show the prevalence of the practice of cremation at the time.

Were it not so opposed to the ideas of the Chinese on the disposition of the dead, cremation might furnish a solution of several difficulties. It would immensely reduce the area of ground required for graves, which continually encroaches on the arable soil. The economy of the practice also is a great recommendation. Funerals, as at present conducted, are

ruinous to the poorer classes. The amount devoted to this purpose requires, in many cases, years for its collection, and frequently would suffice for the support of the family for several years. Cases are not unheard of where sons sell themselves into slavery that their parents' funeral may be conducted according to their ideas of propriety. It frequently happens, also, that when there are not sufficient funds for the purpose at the time of death, the body is kept in the house, encased in a thick wooden coffin, for three, four, or more years, awaiting the raising of money.

Cremation is, however, forbidden by the statutes of the present dynasty, and is rarely resorted to except occasionally to burn the bodies of Buddhist priests or poor persons.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CIVIL LAW

THERE is no written code applicable to civil proceedings. Nor is there any series of reports of cases. The administration of the law is moulded by the character of the government. The government is paternal. It is arbitrary, but it is based on the consent of the people, and it is encompassed by checks which serve to give it some of the elements of a democracy.

The courts do not seem to be bound by any technical rules. It has happened lately that in a civil case the plaintiff has been punished corporally for bringing the suit, and the defendant has also been punished, though the plaintiff was adjudged to be in fault.

The villages, the clans, the neighbourhood, and the guilds administer justice. The "gentry" are an important factor. They are elders

and men of influence. They sometimes become officials. The greater part of the administration of the law in China is in the hands of the district magistrates. They are called "the parents of the people." The duties of this official are by no means exclusively judicial. He administers the criminal and civil law, and he is responsible for the order of his bailiwick. He collects taxes. He has soldiers under him. He has charge of the literary examinations. Certain days in the month are fixed for the bringing of suits. There are no professional lawyers in China. But there is a class of persons who prepare law papers. They are accounted a shrewd and not very reputable class. The papers first go before the Tipao. This is the lowest of Chinese officials. There are several of them in the cities. The Tipao exercises direct and personal control over the people. He acts as constable, makes arrests, and hands the offenders over to the district magistrates. The Tipao puts his seal on the paper. It goes through several hands, and is taxed with fees which do not seem to be excessive. The defendant is summoned. He prepares his defence, which

takes the same course as the complaint. Sometimes the defendant bribes the police not to arrest him. But ultimately the parties appear before the magistrates. An appeal lies from the district judge to the department judge, and from that official to the provincial judge and up to the governor and governor-general, thence to the capital. These appeals are not unusual, and it sometimes happens that the inferior judges are punished by imperial rescript for not having discovered the truth, and for rendering erroneous judgments. There does not seem to be any independence in the judiciary as in other countries. The expense attending litigation, and the principle, above alluded to, that the plaintiff may be punished for bringing a wrongful suit, cause the Chinese to avoid lawsuits.

The chief peculiarity of the Chinese system is the censorate. Censors represent every province in China. There are fifty-six in all, distributed over fifteen circuits, embracing the eighteen provinces, besides the metropolitan circuit. The duty of these officers is to inform the sovereign upon all subjects connected with the welfare of the people and the conduct of

the government. The censors memorialize the Crown at pleasure, and find fault even with the emperor. All abuses are brought to the attention of the government. This institution takes the place of the press in other countries. But unrestrained license is not allowed. I have seen several cases in which the censors have been adjudged to have handed in trivial and unsupported charges, and have been summoned before the board of punishments for the infliction of a penalty.

The basis of the civil and the commercial law in China seems to be the same as that of the common-law custom. As to the commercial law, it seems to be regulated by the rules of the various guilds more than by any other factor. There are some general principles of law which prevail. In China the inspection of a sample is considered final, and the seller is only bound to give goods corresponding with the sample. The principle of *caveat emptor* prevails.

No contract is considered binding, even if written, unless earnest money is paid. By Chinese custom the broker to whom goods are entrusted for sale is liable for their value.

Brokers who sell goods to parties who fail to pay for them are held liable as principals to pay for the goods.

A servant may be dismissed at any time, being paid up to the time of dismissal. Oral guaranties are binding. The law of partnership seems to be the same as in other countries. All active partners are held liable for debts of the firm, but sleeping or limited partners are not.

Among probable reasons why the civil law has not had the same recognition as the criminal law may be cited the following: The fact that nearly all business is done through compradores, the settlement of disputes by the guilds, the contempt with which the literati look down on trade, and a certain want of power in the Chinese to apply abstract principles to practical results. This is demonstrated in the little practical use that they have made of the various inventions with which they are credited, such as printing, gunpowder, and the compass.

The law under various heads is as follows:

Descents. — Primogeniture does not exist, except that there is hereditary succession of

certain ranks and dignities. The persons inheriting the family property are all the sons, whether born of the principal or inferior wives. Division is made by stirpes, the grandsons taking the father's shares. Daughters do not inherit. If they are married, they get nothing; unmarried, a sum is provided for their marriage expenses. The unmarried daughters remain with the eldest son. For this reason his share is sometimes larger than that of his brothers. If there are no male heirs, and no successor has been adopted, the daughters divide the inheritance. In default of lineal heirs, collaterals inherit. An estate is not forfeited to the government as long as any relatives of the decedent remain. Collaterals so inheriting are bound to the worship of ancestors and taking care of the family tomb.

Wills. — The system of bequeathing property by wills does not generally exist. Wills are sometimes made by wealthy persons in order to save litigation, and are acquiesced in by the heirs. But the law provides what disposition shall be made of the property of a decedent.

There is no fixed form for wills. The sig-

nature of a testator to a written will would be sufficient. The wishes of the testator may be verbally expressed to the family.

A will made in a foreign country is held good in China as to property there situate belonging to foreigners.

Probate Courts. — Probate courts do not exist. Documents devising property are retained by the legal heirs.

Ownership of Lands. — Theoretically, the land belongs to the emperor; practically, the holder has all the rights of conveyance and mortgage which exist elsewhere.

There have been cases where the government has taken property without compensation, but ordinarily an assessed valuation is paid when land is taken for public use.

The land tax is one of the most important taxes. If that is regularly paid, the owner is secure in his possessions.

Conveyances. — On the sale of land, the old deeds are transferred to the purchaser. A new deed is made, which is acknowledged and sealed by the magistrate of the district, who keeps a record of the transfer.

Leases are in writing.

Marriages. — No marriage certificate issues. Section 101 of the code contains minute rules as to the contraction of marriage. The first or principal wife is usually chosen for the husband by the parents or senior relations. She is supposed to be his equal in rank. She acquires all the rights and privileges which in Asiatic nations appertain to a wife. She cannot hold separate property free of her husband's control.

Other wives may afterward be taken, as the man pleases, with few ceremonies, and without regard to rank. The secondary wives are subordinate to the first wife, but equal among themselves. They are called inferior wives, and not concubines. Their children are legitimate. There is no limit to the number of secondary wives.

Majority of Infants. — Practically, during the lifetime of the parents they control the child at pleasure.

Naturalization. — There is no law on the subject, but in practice foreigners may place themselves under the protection of Chinese law.

Courts of Justice. — The lowest court is

that of the district magistrate; the next is that of the prefect; the third, that of the Taotai; the fourth, the provincial judge.

Appeal is allowed from a lower to a higher court, from district to department. It is sometimes allowed to the governor and the governor-general, and then to Peking.

The highest court in the Empire is called the Hsing Pu, or tribunal of punishments. The emperor very rarely overrules its decisions.

There are separate judicial tribunals for the members of the banner corps, the imperial clan, and the imperial household.

There is also a grand court of revision, which exercises general supervision over the administration of the law.

It is scarcely necessary to remark that under the treaties with China the foreign powers administer their own laws in the consular courts. The nationality of the defendant determines the jurisdiction of the consul. A person is sued before and tried by his own consul and according to the laws of his own land.

In what I have written, I have given the law as affecting China only.

CHAPTER XVII.

CHRISTIAN MISSION WORK IN CHINA

IN general, the tourists who spend a few days or weeks in China sneer at the missionaries, or damn them with faint praise. Curiously enough, some of them, while they deprecate the Protestant missionaries, praise the Catholics. I am not disposed to adopt any different treatment of the representatives of the two sects. The work of both of them is valuable, or it is worthless. It cannot be said that the one does well while the other does ill. The mission of the Catholic and the Protestant is exactly the same. Both aim at conversion, both pursue the same end by the aid of hospitals, dispensaries, schools, colleges, and orphan asylums. The Catholic makes little use of medical or surgical skill, while the Protestant greatly relies on it as a means for doing

good by bringing Chinese patients under Christian influence. In other respects the methods differ only along those lines of rites of worship and of congregational government, which are characteristic of the two churches. In general, I think that the Protestant system tends more to the promotion of secular education and independence of thought. The discipline of religious stations in the interior by the congregations themselves at once introduces into the life of the Chinese a new principle of self-government. The church meeting, which determines all questions touching the management of the temporal and spiritual interest of the congregational body, is the initiative of republican methods, and this system is not found in the Catholic Church, whose ecclesiastical rule is more rigorous and far-reaching. In the Catholic system the convert remains as devoted a Chinaman as he was before conversion. His mental powers are not enlarged, nor his habits of thought changed. In one important matter only does the foreigner gain by his conversion, and that is that the Catholic convert loses his animosity to

him, and becomes friendly, and this is a very serious and desirable thing to accomplish.

In the Protestant system the convert learns to reason, to argue, to think. He studies his own Bible. He speaks in public on occasion. He figures in the synods. He represents his own little church. His mind is enlarged by contact with other thoughtful and reasoning persons. In many cases he learns English, and the acquisition of the language makes him a new man. I do not mention these differences in order to disparage the labours of the great Catholic bodies which have been engaged in mission work in China for more than four centuries. I recognize the value of the work that they have done for Western learning and civilization, and whatever good word I may write in these pages for mission work includes the Catholic as strongly and pointedly as it does the Protestant.

My positions as Minister to China and Commissioner to the Philippines brought me in frequent contact with the Americans who, in those countries, are devoting themselves to the spread of Christianity. I realize that to those engaged in this work the saving of souls is

the supreme purpose of their labours. The charity, the instruction, the medical and surgical work are all subsidiary to this main object. And despite the criticisms of them, made in China and at home, it is not within the range of probability that any administration in this country will consent to the exclusion of American missionaries from China. It cannot be dreamed of that a step, fraught with such vast and injurious results, will ever be taken by any treaty powers. The treatment of the whole subject rests with the Christians of this and other countries. It will be found that the sentiment of the world will now, as heretofore, be on the side of a reasonable and prudent policy of religious expansion.

In what I shall write concerning missions, I will consider the civil and commercial bearing of the subject. The statesman, the diplomatist, the business man, look on mission work in relation to its influence on trade, commerce, and the general interests of humanity. It seems to me that no impartial observer of the work in non-Christian countries will doubt that its influence is beneficial to the Chinese as well as to the peoples of the West. When a

savage or semicivilized people become completely civilized, new wants arise which commerce supplies. I do not believe that the tourist or the author treats the missionaries fairly. The world loves sensationalism, and an attack made on any established institution or any sentiment that humanity reveres, attracts much more attention than a calm, unimpassioned defence of the same establishments or ideas. If, for instance, I were to join in the common abuse of missionary work, which is now so prevalent, I would receive much more attention from the public than this book will ever get.

Tourists who never put foot in a missionary compound have written books, nevertheless, teeming with criticism on the work of missions. I recall two prominent instances. One of the two was a distinguished American, who stayed three weeks in my legation. I particularly invited him to visit the missionary stations in Peking, but he declined to do so. He knew absolutely nothing of missionary work, but in his book he derided the whole system. The other gentleman was a celebrated Englishman, who has filled the highest offices

under the Crown. He bitterly attacked the missionaries one day in conversation with me. I asked him if he had ever visited or inspected any missionary compound. He said he never had. I then inquired how it was possible for him to form a correct opinion of the work without personally examining into it. A friend of his spoke up and promised to take him to every station in Peking, but he never visited one of them, and, when his book came out, it abounded with criticism of the missionaries.

The raid made on Doctor Ament some years ago is an example of how incautious people, who especially yearn to be funny, handle this subject. Doctor Ament wired that he had levied on certain murderous Chinese communities a sum of money to cover damages done to his converts, and one-third in addition to provide for their temporary support. The telegraph made the despatch read " 13 " times the actual damages instead of " 1-3," and, thereupon, there were let loose on Doctor Ament the flood-gates of denunciation. In fact, what Doctor Ament did met with the approval of the representative of his own country and of

the Chinese government. The latter was entirely willing to have the payment of damages lifted from its own shoulders. In the end, the government of the United States, for this and other reasons, reduced the indemnity to be paid to it by China by a considerable amount.

Doctor Ament's conduct was in accordance with Chinese usage, and was the result of imminent necessity. He had on his hands seven hundred Christian converts, who were absolutely destitute of all the necessaries of life. War was on, and these people were starving. Their property had been destroyed and many of their kinsmen had been murdered.

Absolute perfection exists nowhere on earth, but my acquaintance with the missionaries compels me to accord them high praise. In 1886 I personally visited nearly every missionary station on the seacoast of China, and some in the interior. I think I can testify as an impartial witness in their behalf. I came to the conclusion that the lives of the missionaries were pure; that they were devoted to their work; that they made many converts; and that these converts were morally, mentally, and spiritually benefited by their teachings.

The reader will find in Williams's "Middle Kingdom" the history of Christian missions in China, treated in the careful and complete manner which characterizes the eminent author of that celebrated book. He says of the Catholic missionaries: "They have met with varied success, and their prudence in the choice of measures and in the work of evangelizing has reflected the highest credit upon them." From the time that John of Montecorvino made the first attempt to establish a settled mission in China, in 1288, down to the time when Robert Morrison, the first Protestant missionary landed at Canton in 1807, and through the succeeding decades, missionary work has been beneficial to the Chinese. The missionary has been the educator of the natives. He has written original books for them, and he has translated foreign books into their language; he has established schools, colleges, and hospitals; he has introduced foreign arts and sciences into China. Without his labours, the interior of the country would be to this day unknown to the Western world.

In the "Lettres Edifiantes" and the "Annales de la Foi," and in the elaborate works

of Huc and Marshall, are found the best histories of China, and these have been abundantly supplemented in later times by our own writers. To the ordinary foreigner, whether a tourist or a resident, the native is a stranger, but the missionary is his constant companion and friend, and always the dispenser of charity. The missionary, too, is the forerunner of commerce. Inspired by holy zeal, he goes into the interior where the white man's foot has never trod. He builds a little chapel, a dispensary, a schoolhouse, a workshop. He effects a lodgment in the heart of the country. The drummer follows behind, and foreign commerce begins. From the missionary dwelling there radiates the light of modern civilization. I grant that the Imperial Maritime Customs, the diplomatic and consular bodies, the merchants and the mariners, have done a great deal — the greater part — in the opening up of China, but the unostentatious, laborious missionary has done his full share. In the general, the merchant cares little about diffusing mental or moral improvement, and still less about religion.

China has rarely refused to grant to the

missionary whatever privilege has been demanded for him. In the Chinese text of the French treaty of 1858 there was a clause which enabled the Catholic missionaries to go into any province and buy land, build houses, and reside permanently. In 1865, in the Berthemy Convention, this right was renewed and affirmed, and in the Gérard Convention of 1895 it was provided that, when the missionaries desired to buy land in the interior, the local magistrates need not be consulted, but the land could be purchased directly from the owner. In 1891 the present Emperor Kwang Su issued a very strong edict commanding good treatment of the missionaries. He therein made the following statement: "The religions of the West have for their object the inculcation of virtue, and, though our people become converted, they continue to be Chinese subjects. There is no reason why there should not be harmony between the people and the adherents of foreign religions."

In the great question of commercial expansion the labours of the missionaries in all parts of the world have been appreciated by intelligent rulers, and they have consequently been

fostered and protected. A noted example of this line of policy has recently been furnished by the Emperor of Germany. Whatever may be said of the peculiarities sometimes exhibited by the Kaiser, it must be admitted that his foreign policy has been definite, determined, and brilliant, even if occasionally too aggressive. He has realized that one of the important agencies in the development of the world and the extension of German influence is the establishment and protection of foreign missions. France learned this centuries ago, and from the time of Louis XIV. she has been the protector of Catholic missions in the East and the Far East. Though she excludes and derides them at home, in the Orient she has immemorially spread her ægis over them, and they have repaid her by extending to her and her interests the most perfect devotion. In China, since the earliest establishment of Catholic missions, the French Minister has had sole charge of the claims of all members of those missions, no matter what was the nationality of the claimant. Thus the Belgian, English, Italian, German, Spanish, in fact, the Catholic of all nationalities, looked to France alone as

his mediator in all troubles, and it must be said that she has served him well. She has always been on the alert to secure rights and privileges, of which other nations have availed themselves under the "favoured nation" clause in all the treaties. It is odd, perhaps, that the nation which is considered to be the most irreligious in the world should, all over the East and the Far East, stand as the champion and defender of the Catholics of every country. Yet, under the empire, the monarchy, and the republic, this position has been sustained up to this hour. The German emperor, in 1870, saw the subtle and far-reaching influence, both at home and abroad, which was escaping from him by reason of the policy of France, and he determined to counteract it. After the Franco-Prussian war, he commanded that the German Catholic, like the German Protestant, should be under the sole and exclusive jurisdiction of Germany, so that now, in Turkey as well as in the Far East, France has lost all authority over matters connected with the German Catholics. There cannot be much doubt that this policy is wise. There are, to my knowledge, no American mis-

sionaries in China who are Catholics, but, if there were any, the Minister of the United States would undoubtedly claim jurisdiction over them.

It seems to be the general impression in this country that the missionary devotes all his time to purely religious work. He is attacked because he is charged with trying to force a new religion on the Chinese. There is not a people on the face of the earth which cares as little about religion as the Chinese. In general, the Chinaman has no religious belief. Confucianism is simply a philosophy. If the Chinese has any belief, it is merely pantheism, which by reason of its universality of deities so diffuses creeds that they become impalpable and general as the air. The average Chinese believes in nothing but the worship of ancestors, and that is mostly a matter of family pride. He wants a son to take care of his grave and do honour to his memory after he is dead. No other people are so tolerant, or, rather, so indifferent as to religious beliefs.

Other nations might learn toleration from the Chinese. They tolerated the Nestorians, the Jews, and the Mohammedans. To-day

their government has pulled down the bars, and allows, as I have already shown, the Christian teacher to go where he pleases. Compare this with the practice of Russia. While minister at Peking, I applied twice to the Russian Legation to have the passports of missionaries viséed so that they might make the overland journey from Peking to Russia, and each time the request was refused. Other people might go and come at pleasure, but no ecclesiastic could even pass through Siberia.

It is not because of his religion that the missionary is attacked by mobs, it is because of his race. It is the foreigner, and not the Christian, against whom the mobs are gathered. The disturbances of 1900 have abundantly proved this to be true. I have discussed elsewhere the causes of antagonism to foreigners, and need not repeat the matter here.

I know how indifferent the world generally is to religious propaganda, either at home or abroad. Societies like the Young Men's Christian Association, whose success has been phenomenal, have seen that to awaken interest in their religious work temporal means must be adopted. So this admirable association has

become the centre in all our cities of mental, moral, and physical improvement. It snatches recruits for the churches from the jails and immoral haunts, but it does it by opening up a new life for the young, a life in which books, innocent games, lectures, and music play their parts. The work of this society is world-wide in its scope, and even an infidel will not dispute that it does nothing but good. At Peking, Tientsin, Shanghai, Hongkong, in the Philippines, all over the world in fact, this organization has its stations. It entered Manila with our troops. It is a boon to the American soldier, as well as to the native. It is non-sectarian. Its avowed purpose is to evangelize the world. The missionaries are its co-labourers. They, too, are sometimes not connected with any sect. The great China Inland Mission draws its members from all Protestant religious denominations, and it teaches the principles which underlie the creeds of all.

The missionary is always attacked because he is seeking to establish a new religion, but credit is never given to him for the good that he accomplishes. In fact, a great portion of the missionary's time is devoted to teaching,

to healing the sick, to charity, and to literary work. Let us enumerate a few of the men who have become distinguished in these lines.

Dr. W. A. P. Martin heads the list. He went to China as a missionary. He became the head of the Tungwen University, and so remained for twenty years. He was until recently the head of the new Imperial University. He has been a writer of mathematical and scientific books, and a teacher of these studies. He translated "Paley's Evidences of Christianity" into Chinese. He wrote the Hanlin papers, and many essays and books on Chinese subjects. Doctor Edkins, another old missionary, prepared a whole series of primers in the Chinese language, and the emperor commenced to study English. Doctor Atterbury built with his own means a hospital, and stocked it with medicines, and fought the demon opium. Doctor Nevius, a missionary, became the preceptor and master of agriculture at Chefoo, and the whole country around bloomed and blossomed with new seeds, fruits, and flowers. Mateer, Sheffield, Allen, Happer, missionaries, have established colleges in various parts of China, whence go out every year

educated young men to teach their fellows. Here and there are universities created by Pilcher, Lowry, Hobart, Gamewell, — the hero of the siege, — Boone, and Potts. From the Peking University we sent out one year thirteen young doctors of medicine. I say "we," because I was one of the vice-presidents of this institution, and Sir Robert Hart was another, whose name I mention to show that the most distinguished foreigner in China did not consider it beneath his dignity to aid in this educational work.

The woman missionary bears her part in this great work of instruction. She takes in her arms the poor, neglected, despised girl, and transforms her into an intelligent, educated woman. If the missionaries had done nothing else for China, the amelioration of the condition of the women would be glory enough. The woman doctor, too, goes forth among her sisters, and becomes their ministering angel.

At Peking, one pious lady actually paid the Chinese women for their time that they might come to her school and be taught modern arts and the principles of Christianity. Sunday

after Sunday I have seen the great Methodist church at Peking — which, alas, was destroyed by the Boxers — used as a school for children. From 1,500 to 2,000 boys and girls gathered there to be taught Sunday school lessons as our children are at home. I do not envy the man who can contemplate such a scene without his heart being moved by approval of the work.

These, and other works of like character, are the doings of the missionaries. Will any tourist or author condemn them because they do these things? Will anybody deny that this teaching and charity are beneficial to the Chinese? If they are not, let us burn our schools, colleges, and hospitals. If the Chinese are benefited by these ministrations, it is certain that they react favourably on Western peoples, — but whether they do or not, why begrudge them to one-fifth of the human race?

In travelling over this country, I come across many people who assert that the recent disturbances in China have demonstrated that mission work is a failure! In some places subscriptions to the work have largely fallen off on this account. On the contrary, as I look

at the disturbances, they furnish the strongest possible argument in favour of the continuation of the labours of the missionaries. This conclusion tallies, too, with the advices sent to me by the active workers in the field, who have recently met with abundant success.

If ever devotion, gratitude, self-sacrifice, were shown by one race to another, the Christian converts developed these qualities in 1900. Three thousand of them gathered to the support and protection of the eight hundred beleaguered foreigners in the British Legation. They made defence possible. They tore from the legation walls the damask curtains, the embroideries from the boudoirs, the cloths from the tables, and the sheets from the beds, and made them into bags to create barricades to keep out the rush of the Boxers. They slaughtered and cooked the ninety-eight horses and mules, on whose flesh the garrison subsisted. We recall here the grim joke, when there was no meat for dinner, that the horse had not been "curried." These converts fought, too, beside their friends on the wall, in the moat, behind the barricades, and many of them died in defence of their religious teachers. At the Pei-

tang, — the great Catholic cathedral, — whose enclosure is twenty-five hundred feet in circumference, there were early in June, 1900, only seventy white men and women. They were priests of the order of Lazarus, and nuns of that of St. Vincent; but 3,200 men, women, and children — Chinese converts — came to their assistance. Shortly afterward, thirty French and ten Italian marines were sent to the Peitang. Until the 16th day of August, 1900, this feeble garrison withstood the attacks of countless hordes of Boxers. Then relief came. At the beginning of the siege, the Boxers marched in great numbers down the street which led to the main gate of the enclosure. They halted a short distance away, and performed their incantations. Then they started for the gate. When they had reached a point two hundred yards off, the forty marines fired a volley into the crowded mass. This volley killed thirty-seven Boxers and wounded many more. The whole body took to flight. Another column came with a cannon to batter down the gate, but the marines and their Chinese friends rushed out and captured the cannon. The houses in the com-

pound were mined. Fire-balls were thrown on the roofs. In one day seven hundred cannon-balls, each weighing twenty-five pounds, were hurled into the compound. In one mine twenty-five of the defenders were killed and twenty-eight wounded. Many arrows were thrown into the compound, with letters attached promising immunity to the converts if they would abandon the white men, but not one of them proved false to his duty. The besieged people were reduced to an allowance of two ounces of rice a day. They subsisted on the flesh of dogs and the bark of trees.

There is scarcely anything finer in history than the defence of these two places: the British Legation and the Peitang. Let it be borne in mind that all this heroism occurred in one province and one city. The Province of Chihli furnished 6,200 people, who remained true to their faith in spite of danger, suffering, and impending death. It is said that fifteen thousand converts were killed during the riots, and not as many as two per cent. of them apostasized. I think that, in the face of these facts, the old allegation that the Chinese converts are

treacherous, venal, and untrue must be renounced. Let us not call them "rice Christians" any more. Well might it have been proposed in the Senate that these converts should be admitted in this country free of restriction.

Another objection made to mission work is that we are forcing a new civilization on China, and that her people are already civilized and have the right to maintain their ancient institutions. If there be any forcing, it is wrong, of course, but if by means of gentle persuasion we can introduce Western modes and methods into China, we are simply doing for her what has been done, in one way or another, for every nation on the globe.

In a former chapter I have given China credit for the development of much of her civilization. It need only be said here that, if there were no other evidences of want of genuine civilization, the riots of 1900 have furnished sufficient proof of that fact. A nation, a large body of whose people believe that by going into a trance they become invulnerable, and on this pretence inaugurate riots involving the destruction of all foreigners,

cannot boast of its civilization. And a government which stands by and endorses and assists such a movement is not fit to live.

Certainly one of the best means of assisting China in achieving true civilization is furnished by the missionary, the Young Men's Christian Association, and cognate societies.

For nearly a century the missionary men and women have laboured to carry our prestige, our language, and our commerce into China. They have borne every species of suffering, and they count many martyrs on their lists. The "flowery flag" is known and respected in China. As our fellow citizens, and especially as self-sacrificing benefactors of humanity, the missionaries deserve our assistance and support. If we turn them adrift, our national fame will be dimmed. It cannot be doubted that by their disappearance our commerce would greatly suffer, and our diplomacy would lose its chief support.

The labours of the missionaries, as has often been said, constitute some compensation to China for the wrongs that foreign association has entailed. When Sir Robert Hart was asked what was the prevention of anti-foreign

riots, he said it was either partition or the conversion of China to Christianity. It is presumed that all Americans will favour the latter alternative.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE EMPRESS DOWAGER

ACCOUNTS of the origin of this celebrated woman greatly vary. Some say that she was employed as a kitchen girl in an inn, having come from a poor family. Others deny this story, and assert that she came of a noble family, not of the highest nobility, but still of great respectability. Her brother who died recently was Duke Chao. Her sister married Prince Chun, who was called the seventh prince, being the seventh brother of the Emperor Hienfung. The present emperor, Kwang Su, was the son of this couple. Her connections at Peking were numerous and influential. Her father was an official in Anhui, were she was born. Li Hung Chang was born in the same province, which accounts somewhat for his lifelong devotion to the empress. She is a Manchu, a big-footed woman, and

not a Chinese. The Manchus never bind their children's feet. She went to Peking with a great number of her sex to be presented to the Emperor Hienfung on the occasion of his choosing his secondary wives. She was educated, accomplished, beautiful, and immediately pleased the emperor. She became one of his concubines, and bore to him a son, who succeeded him as emperor under the name of Tungchi. As a mark of distinction, she was raised to the rank of empress, and was assigned a palace on the west, while the primary wife occupied one on the east. Hienfung abandoned Peking when the allies went there in 1860, and died in 1861 at Jehol, about a hundred miles from the capital.

After the death of Hienfung, a cabal was formed at Peking for the purpose of getting control of Tungchi, who was the infant son of Hienfung. The Empress Tzu-An, widow of Hienfung, and the Empress Tzi-An hastily left Jehol and repaired to Peking, where they united with Prince Kung, the sixth brother of Hienfung, and formed a regency. The traitors were promptly arrested, and two of the principal conspirators — Prince I and

action was necessarily controlled by the principle that the occupant of the "Dragon Seat" must be of a lower generation than his predecessor. He must worship his predecessor, and in order to do so he must belong to a lower, or younger, generation. Various candidates were proposed, but the fatal objection to all was that they belonged to a generation older than the decedent. The son of the able and distinguished Prince Kung, who managed wisely the foreign affairs of China for many years, would have been chosen emperor, but such a choice would have involved the retirement of this statesman from public affairs, for the reason that a father can in no event kneel before his son. The next eligible candidate was Tsai-tien, a son of Prince Chun and of the sister of the empress, who was born August 15, 1871, and was then something over three years old. The empress dowager went to the palace of Prince Chun, who was the seventh son of the Emperor Tao-Kuang, took the boy in her arms, carried him into the assemblage of the Imperial Clan, and declared: "Here is your emperor." He was then immediately chosen emperor. He took the reign-

name of Kwang-sü, or "Illustrious Succession." He is the ninth emperor of the Manchu dynasty of Ta-tsing, "Sublime Purity." On his accession, his father retired from public affairs, and we saw very little of him in Peking.

The regency, composed of the two empresses and Prince Kung, resumed the sway which it had scarcely abandoned during the reign of Tungchi. In 1881 the Empress-regent Tzu-An died, leaving the Empress Tzi-An and Prince Kung as regents. The empress immediately, by an imperial edict, deprived Prince Kung of all his dignities, and a day or two afterward restored them all to him except his place as regent. Henceforth, practically until to-day, this imperial woman was to rule alone over the vast empire. When I reached China, in 1885, she was the regent with absolute power, and so remained until March 4, 1889, when Kwang-sü assumed the reins of government. On that day the emperor took to himself a bride and two secondary wives. The adroitness of the empress was illustrated in the choice of these wives. The principal wife was the daughter of the Deputy Lieutenant-

General Kuei Hsiang. She was cousin of the empress. The two others were sisters, daughters of Chang Hsü, who was dead. He had been formerly, by the empress's appointment, vice-president of a board. Thus complete control of the imperial household was secured without any risk of factional opposition. Kwang-sü had been carefully educated after the Chinese fashion, but he was not physically strong, and did not develop any ability. His chief instructor was Weng-tung-ho, who afterward exercised considerable influence in the government. At the accession of the emperor, it was generally believed, and events have verified it, that she would remain the autocrat of China. Her nephew has always been greatly devoted to her. She was then, and she is now, the great central figure in the Empire. At that time she was universally esteemed by foreigners, and revered by her own people, and was regarded as being one of the greatest characters in history, ranking with Semiramis and Catherine, but it must be said she never ranked with that pure, great, and unrivalled character — Victoria. Under her rule for a quarter of a century China made immense progress.

In 1861 the treaties of 1858 were ratified, and the Chinese statesmen had to grapple with new and untried questions, to whose peaceful solution the empress greatly contributed.

Between 1861 and 1889 some important events occurred. The principal one was the conquest of western Kansuh, Sungaria, Kuldja, and Kashgaria. A Mohammedan rebellion broke out in these provinces in 1862. Russia, fearing disturbances in her own borders, crossed over and occupied Kuldja in 1871. In 1867 a soldier of fortune from Kohkand, named Yakob Bey, made himself master of Kashgar. In 1876 China succeeded, after a bloody war, in reasserting her power. Russia finally evacuated Ili, and, in 1881, by the treaty of St. Petersburg, restored to China the territory she had seized upon the payment of one and a half million sterling.

In 1884 difficulties originated between the French and Chinese over the French occupation of Tonquin and Annam. A desultory war ensued, during which the French destroyed the shipping and arsenal at Foochow. In 1885 the French were beaten at Langson, and at Tamsui in Formosa. Then peace was made,

China refusing to pay any indemnity, but recognizing the French protectorate over Annam and the possession of Tonquin.

During this period the most notable event affecting England was the murder of a British officer named Margary, in 1875, who had been sent to Yunan to meet an exploring party despatched by the Indian government to Burmah. In 1876 the Chinese agreed to pay an indemnity to Margary's family, and to compel their local officers to protect foreigners bearing passports. China agreed also to facilitate the despatch of a British mission to Lhassa. England agreed to the opium convention, which finally resulted in amalgamating likin and import duties at eighty taels per chest.

In 1885 England took possession of Upper Burmah, but agreed in 1886 that the authorities in Burmah should send to China every ten years a present of local produce in charge of a native official — which was never done. England agreed, also, not to press the Tibet Mission clause of the Chefoo Convention. In 1887 England surrendered a Korean island, Port Hamilton, with the understanding that Russia would not occupy any portion of Korea.

Between China and the United States international affairs were during this period tranquil and satisfactory.

Additional articles were added in 1868 to the treaty of 1858, and in 1880 an immigration and commercial treaty was made, the beginning of the system of exclusion, which has become the settled policy of the country. It cannot be said that China has faithfully carried out the clauses in these treaties which require her to protect Americans in their lives and property, but she has always paid damages for injuries done by mobs. Such riots were severely condemned by the imperial government, but it claimed, erroneously, as I believe, that they were sudden outbursts of the populace, and could not be foreseen or prevented. Reparation in money and, sometimes, by the punishment of the guilty or negligent officials was always made. During my stay in China no American was personally injured. One young lady complained that during the Kutien riots in 1895 a spear was thrown which grazed her ear, and for this the government promptly paid her two thousand Mexican dollars.

It may be said with emphasis that the em-

press dowager has been the first of her race to apprehend the problem of the relation of China to the outer world, and to make use of this relation to strengthen her dynasty and to promote material progress.

The Imperial Maritime Customs service, which was first established to provide means to pay damages claimed by foreigners, has become, under the control of Sir Robert Hart, a great fiscal institution. It has provided in the most complete manner for the lighting of the coast of China, has fostered navigation, and has produced great revenues. During the control of the empress a fine navy was created, and the army was somewhat improved. The electric telegraph covered the land. Arsenals and shipyards were located at Foochow, Shanghai, Canton, Taku, and Port Arthur. Western methods of mining were introduced, and two lines of railway were built. Steamers plied on all the principal rivers. The study of mathematics was revived, and the physical sciences were introduced into the competitive examinations. Absolute tolerance of religious faith existed, and the missionaries could locate anywhere in China. Almost as soon as the

foreign office was organized, it memorialized the throne, recommending the establishment of a school for the training of official interpreters. This resulted in the establishment of the Tung Wan Kuan College in 1862. This institution was presided over until recently by Dr. W. A. P. Martin, an Indianian, with a full corps of foreign and native professors. In 1872 China sent a large detachment of boys to the United States to be educated. They were recalled in 1881, because it was reported that they were becoming too much attached to the United States, and were being weaned from China. It is pleasant to record that one of these boys now represents his country at Washington. I cannot forbear saying of his Excellency, who is an English baronet with the title Sir Chengtung, but whose Chinese name is Liang Chang, that he possesses all the qualities essential for the admirable discharge of his duties. He is a graduate of Andover. He speaks English perfectly. He is educated, honest, and courteous. He has had large diplomatic experience, and is the best fellow socially in the world. This gentleman succeeded Wu Ting Fang as the representative of his

country at Washington. Mr. Wu was very well known in this country by reason of his frequent addresses and speeches. He is, by profession, a lawyer, having been educated at the Temple in London. He is a perfect English scholar, a man of large learning, and in all respects a gentleman. He went home to prepare a revision of the Chinese code, which his labours will modernize. I predict that he is destined to fill a large space in Chinese polity. While he is essentially a Chinese, and devoted to his country, his large experience in foreign diplomacy will enable him to remodel the jurisprudence of China, and his labours will redound to the advantage of both his own and foreign countries.

It is very wise of China to send English-speaking representatives to the Anglo-Saxon countries, as she has done to the Court of St. James and to Washington, and this time she has been fortunate in selecting for Minister to the United States a gentleman who knows and loves America. His colleague at London is another example of the right man in the right place. Lo Fung Lo is a fine scholar, an accomplished gentleman, and an experi-

enced diplomat. He served an apprenticeship for many years as secretary and interpreter for Li Hung Chang.

During the time covered by the rule of the empress many schools and colleges were established in China by our own countrymen, who are at the forefront in educational matters.

It will not be denied by any one that the improvement and progress above sketched are mainly due to the will and power of the empress regent. To her own people, up to this period in her career, she was kind and merciful, and to foreigners she was just.

How in the course of events she forfeited, during the Boxer riots, her claim to the confidence of the foreigner, and soiled by her conduct her splendid reputation, will appear hereafter in these pages.

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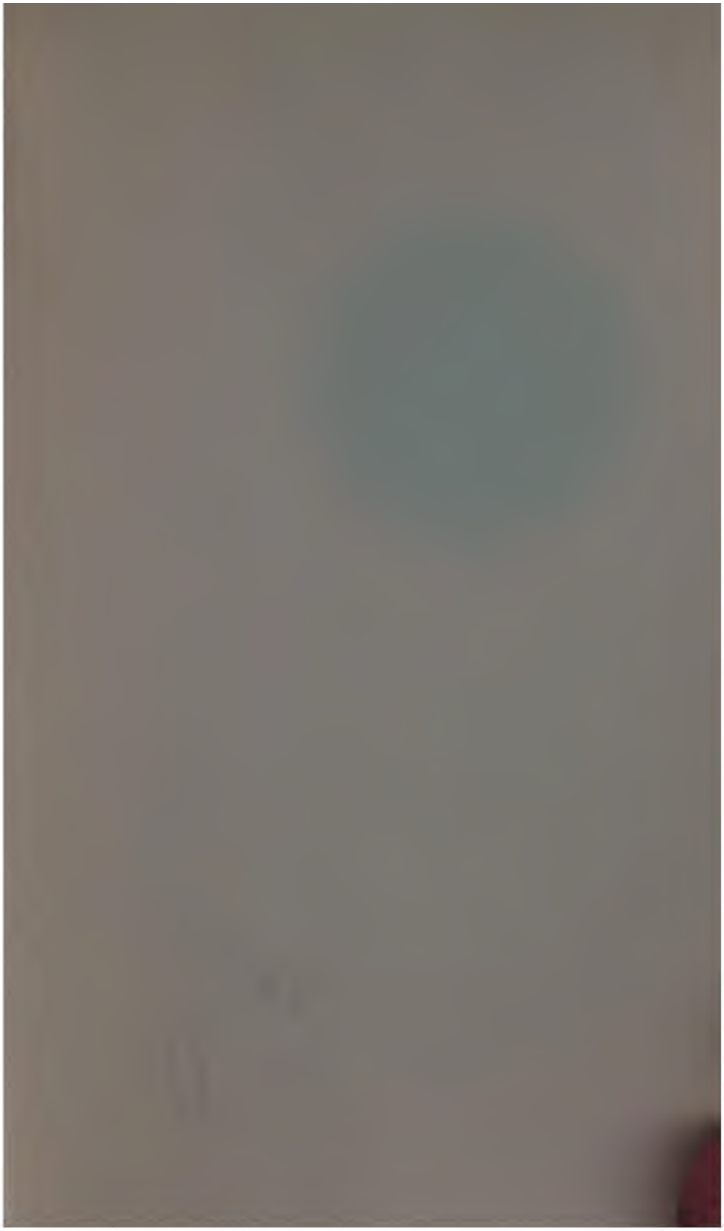

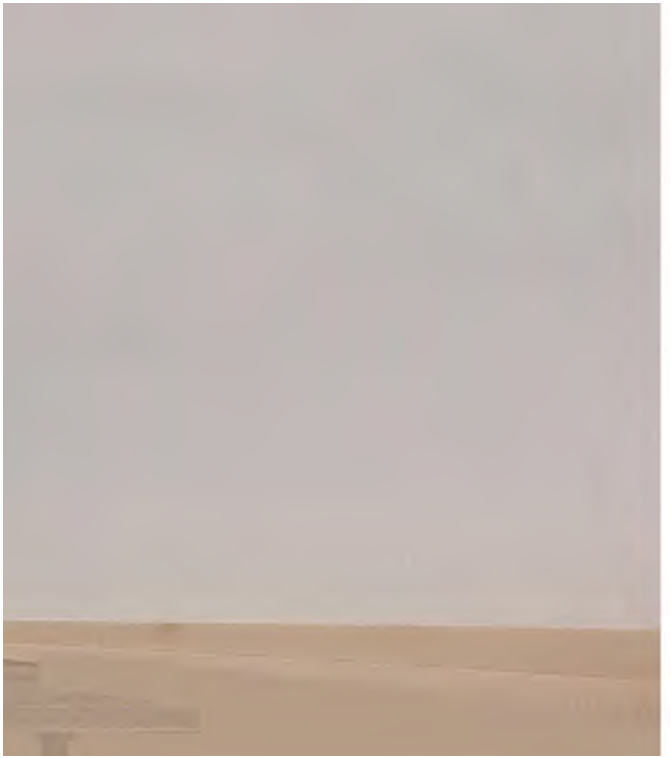

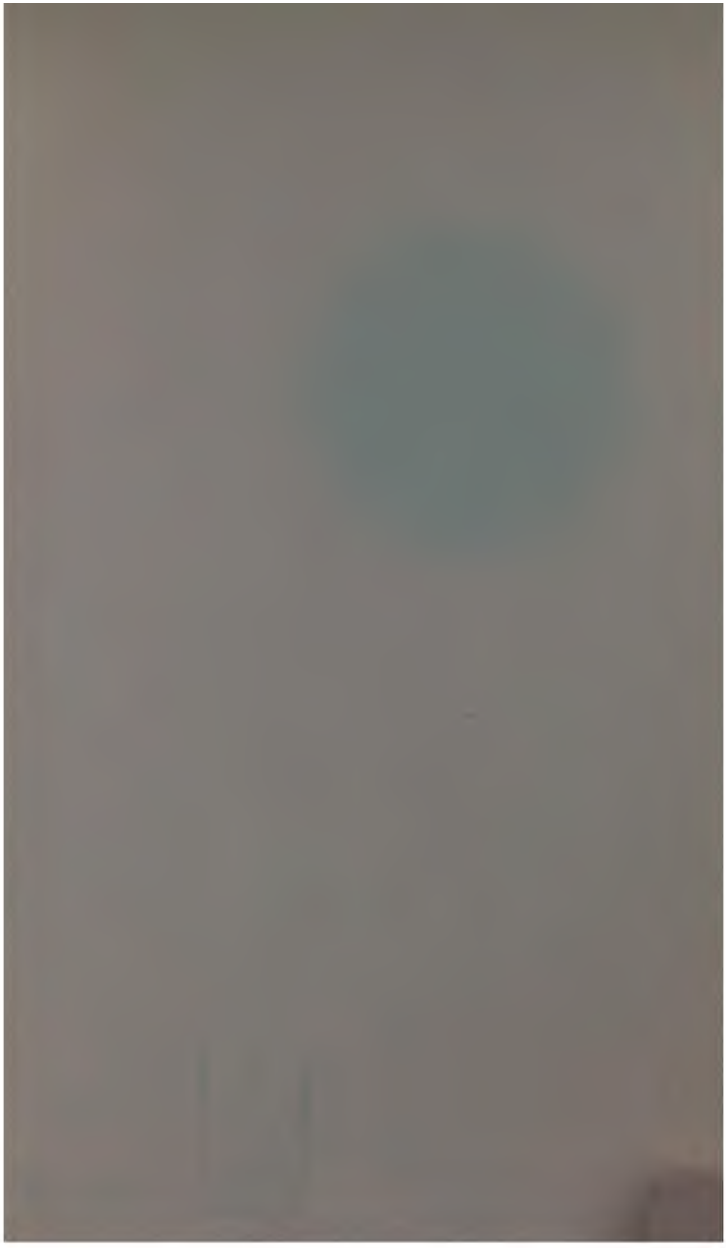

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